THE

LIVES

OF THE

ENGLISH REGICIDES,

AND OTHER

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE PRETENDED

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,

Appointed to sit in Judgment upon their Sovereign,

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

By the Reverend MARK NOBLE, F. A. S. of L. and E.

RECTOR OF BARMING, IN KENT, AND
DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO GEORGE EARL OF LEICESTER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1798.

The Grenville Library

CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

LIVES OF

JOHN Liſle, Eſq. — 1
Thomas Liſter, Eſq. — 3
Sir Michael Liveſey, Bart. — 4
Nicolas Love, Eſq. — 6
John Lowry, Eſq. — 9
Edmond Ludlow, Eſq. — 10
Sir Thomas Mauleverer, Bart. — 34
Robert Manwaring, Eſq. — 38
Henry Marten, Eſq. — 39
Sir William Maſham, Eſq. — 62
Simon Mayne, Eſq. — 64
Sir Henry Mildmay, Knt. — 69
Henry Mildmay, Eſq. — 80
Gilbert Millington, Eſq. — 81
John More, Eſq. — 85
Herbert Morley, Eſq. — 87
William Lord Monſon, Viſ. Caſtlemain in Ireland — 92
James Nelthorpe, Eſq. — 97
Robert Nicolas, Eſq. — 98
Sir Gregory Norton, Bart. — 102
John Nutt, Eſq. — 103
John Okey, Eſq. — 104
Robert Overton, Eſq. — 110
Peregrine Pelham, Eſq. — 118
Iſaac Pennington, Eſq. — 120
Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. — 127
Vincent Potter, Eſq. — 129

LIVES OF

Thomas Pride, Eſq. — 132
William Purefoy, Eſq. — 134
Robert Reynolds, Eſq. — 138
Alexander Rigby, Eſq. — 145
Sir William Roberts, Bart. — 147
Owen Rowe, Eſq. — 150
Humphry Salway, Eſq. — 157
Richard Salway, Eſq. — 158
William Say, Eſq. — 164
Thomas Scot, Eſq. — 169
Adrian Scroop, Eſq. — 200
Auguſtine Skinner, Eſq. — 232
Philip Skippon, Eſq. — 234
Henry Smith, Eſq. — 236
Anthony Stapley, Eſq. — 240
Algernon Sidney, Eſq. — 248
James Temple, Eſq. — 263
Sir Peter Temple, Knt. and Bart. — 266
Peter Temple, Eſq. — 268
Francis Thorp, Eſq. — 271
Robert Tichborne, Eſq. — 272
Matthew Tomlinſon, Eſq. — 277
John Trenchard, Eſq. — 280
John Venn, Eſq. — 283
Sir Hardreſs Waller, Knt. — 285
Robert Wallop, Eſq. — 301
Valentine Wauton, Eſq. — 307
Thomas Wayte, Eſq. — 310
John Weaver, Eſq. — 318
Sir Peter Wentworth, Knt. of the Bath — 323
Benjamin Weſton, Eſq. — 326
Edward Whalley, Eſq. — 327
Edmond Wild, Eſq. — 330
Rowland Wilſon, Alderman of the city of London — 332
Thomas Wogan, Eſq. — 337
Sir Thomas Wroth, Knt. — 339

THE

LIVES

OF THE

ENGLISH REGICIDES,

&c.

The Life of JOHN LISLE, *Esq.*

JOHN LISLE, Esq. was descended from a very ancient and good family, called L'Isles, or de Insula: he went into the army, as many others of the gentlemen of the law did, and behaved with great bravery. He was entirely in the interest of the army, and subscribed to every form they were pleased to set up. He became one of the commissioners of the great seal to Oliver the protector, who called him to his other house as a peer; where, with those equally distinguished, I have mentioned him. I shall, therefore, only remark here, that he sat as one of the king's judges every day, except in the Painted Chamber on the 18th, 20th, 22d, 24th, and 25th; and signed the warrant for the king's violent death.

He was proſcribed by parliament abſolutely, but effected his eſcape to Lauſanne, in Switzerland, where he was aſſaſſinated by the procurement of the queen mother: his death was due, but the manner of it was not to be juſtified. Few characters have been more juſtly deſpiſed than his was.

The Life of THOMAS LISTER, *Esq.*

THOMAS LISTER, Esq. was of a very ancient and respectable family in the county of Lincoln, and went into the parliament army, where he rose to be a lieutenant colonel; and the parliament made him one of their committee in his own county.

He was named one of the high court of justice, as they had the effrontry to call it, to try the king; and he sat on January 10th, 17th, and 20th, in the Painted Chamber, and on the last-mentioned day in Westminster Hall; but probably he was not pleased with his disgraceful office; for he never sat afterwards, nor signed the warrant for execution.

He was trusted and employed by the protector Oliver, who made him deputy governor of Lincoln. He was living in 1657; and probably he survived the restoration, when, from the lenity of the government, he was perfectly safe. Blome mentions Michael Lister, of Burwell, Esq. and William Lister, of Coleby, Esq. both in Lincolnshire; the former was employed by the protector Oliver.

The Life of Sir MICHAEL LIVESEY, *Bart.*

Sir Michael Livesey was created a baronet July 11, 1627, by King Charles I. In the patent he is deſcribed, of Eaſt-church, in the Iſle of Sheppey, in the county of Kent.

He is repreſented as a very extravagant debauchée, who, to augment his fortunes, entered into the parliament army. In 1644 he was, with the approbation of both houſes of parliament, appointed a colonel of horſe.

When Sir Richard Hardreſs had beſieged Dover Caſtle, in 1648, with two thouſand men, and had taken the block houſes, ordnance, and ammunition, he marched with Colonel Rich thither, and obliged Sir Richard to leave the place, and obtained all that had been taken; whilſt Colonel Rich purſued the flying troops.

Soon after this, he went againſt the Earl of Holland; but he did not much diſtinguiſh himſef in arms under his commander Sir William Waller; but, on the contrary, he has been taxed with being a moſt notorious coward.

He was appointed one of the king's judges; and though he had received his honours from his majeſty, yet did this diſgraceful character dare to ſit in judgment upon him. He was every day in Weſtminſter Hall; and in the Painted Chamber on the 19th, 20th, 22d, 23d, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 29th, of January; and he ſigned the warrant to cloſe the tragic ſcene.

During the remainder of the uſurpation, he continued to be ſwayed with whatever power prevailed. He was ſheriff of Kent part of the year 1655-6, and part of 1657, and continued in the committee.

At the reſtoration he was abſolutely precluded pardon; but he eluded the puniſhment he ſo eminently deſerved; and though the utmoſt inquiries were made, yet he was never more heard of, dying, it was ſuppoſed, ſome where abroad.

This very profligate character ſeemed to eſteem money as the ſole good, having not even a pretence to ſerve the public. His avaricious diſpoſition juſtly procured him the appellation of "Plunder-maſter-general of Kent." What a mortification to him, to leave all his ill-acquired wealth, and ſink into contempt and ſcorn!

His daughter Ann was married to Sir Richard Sprignell, of Coppenthorpe, in Yorkſhire, created a baronet by King Charles I. in 1641.

The Life of NICOLAS LOVE, *Eſq.*

NICOLAS LOVE, Eſq. was the ſon of Doctor Love, of Wincheſter, and became *chamber-fellow* of Mr. Lenthal, afterwards ſpeaker of the houſe of Commons, whilſt at Lincoln's-Inn. He was appointed one of the king's judges, and ſat very conſtantly during the mock trial, being in the Painted Chamber all the days, except January the thirteenth, eigteenth, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-ninth; and in all the ſittings in Weſtminſter Hall, and conſequently gave judgement againſt his ſovereign, for whoſe deſtruction he ſeemed peculiarly anxious; and was one of the ſecret committee; but he did not ſign the warrant for execution.

There was ſomething peculiarly infamous in this gentleman's conduct throughout; for as a member of parliament, as a lawyer, he was doubly forfeiting his allegiance and his oath, and of all others he could leſs plead ignorance of the crime he was committing; but probably his having received the valuable place of one of the ſix clerks in chancery, in the room of the loyal Mr. Penruddock, worth a thouſand pounds a year, determined him to go any length that his maſters, the army, ſhould direct him. He had in the preceding month gone from the houſe of commons with a meſſage to the courts of law in Weſtminſter Hall, to order them not to ſit, becauſe neither

the clients nor council could, with freedom, attend; and yet he could act here in a junto of the houſe, formed by the army, in a court conſtituted by both, and ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and the whole army occupying the city of London;—he could ſit in this very court, when he knew it contrary to every principle of the Engliſh conſtitution. Aſſurance itſelf muſt bluſh at ſuch effrontry.

He was appointed in 1651 one of the council of ſtate; during the uſurpation, he continued in every form of government that came uppermoſt; and as he had been one of the committee-men of Hampſhire, named by the parliament at the commencement of the troubles, ſo he remained until the end of it.

In December 1659, he was aſſiſting in ſecuring Portſmouth to the parliament, and had their thanks for "his good ſervices," acting then in conjunction with General Monk, who impoſed upon him, as he had done moſt others; but ſeeing at length, what he moſt dreaded, that Monk's aims all tended to reſtore the legal government, he very prudently withdrew from the kingdom, and reached the continent in ſafety.

The parliament, in the clauſe of pains and penalties to be inflicted upon ſuch of the king's judges that were living, proſcribed him, both as to life and property; the wealth, therefore, for which he had ſo ſcandalouſly proſtituted himſelf, became forfeited; and he lived in Lauſanne, a

wretched exile, conſtantly fearing aſſaſſination by the procurement of ſome employed for that baſe purpoſe by the family of his murdered maſter.

Richard Love, of Gretham, Eſq. in the county of Hants, mentioned by Blome, was, no doubt, nearly allied to him.

The Life of JOHN LOWRY, *Esq.*

JOHN LOWRY, Esq. was a member of the long parliament, as one of the representatives of the town of Cambridge, and one of the parliament committee for that place, in which situation he was continued by the Protector Oliver, and was living in 1657; so that probably he survived the restoration. I have never seen any other circumstance relative to him; happily he did not distinguish himself in this dreadful tragedy, so that his name, though put in the commission to try the king, is not branded with the odious appellations of traitor and regicide.

The Life of EDMOND LUDLOW, *Esq.*

EDMOND LUDLOW, Esq. was eldest son and heir of Sir Henry Ludlow, Knt. of a very ancient and respectable family, originally of Shropshire, but removed from thence into Wilts, where they possessed such influence, that they had often represented that county in parliament, as did Sir Henry at the commencement of the last, and ever memorable one called by King Charles I.

At the breaking out of the civil war he was a student in one of the Inns at law, and became enrolled amongst the hundred young gentlemen who formed the life guard to the parliament general, the Earl of Essex, and which was commanded by Sir Philip Stapylton; after the battle of Edgehill, he obtained a troop of horse, having in this engagement greatly distinguished himself; and assisting in the reduction of Wardour Castle, he was appointed governor of it.

He marched soon after to Warminster, in Wilts; but after a vigorous resistence, was obliged to surrender that castle; he was sent a prisoner to Oxford; and after every attempt was made to win him to the royal interest without success, he was set at liberty, and appointed by the parliament sheriff of Wiltshire; soon after he became a major of horse, under Sir Arthur Heselrigge, and when only twenty-three years old, appointed a colonel of horse.

Ever after this, his military career was brilli-

ant, he laid the city of Saliſbury under contribution, rendered Stourton-houſe untenable, and having obliged Sir Ralph Hopton's garriſon to leave it, marched into Surry; in the interim, he was elected in the room of his deceaſed father, a member for the county of Wilts.

It is evident that he was one of the few who determined to deſtroy the regal power, when he firſt drew the ſword, having the moſt manifeſt perſonal hatred to the king, and which he ſeems to have imbibed from his father; young as he was he had penetration to ſee the aim of moſt, if not all the parties in the ſtate; he ſided with the parliament, but only ſo far as they were enemies to the king, his aim was that the army ſhould be brought to put the king to death, and then ſettle a popular government, and that done, to make all obedient to the new ſyſtem; but the army on the contrary acted a very different part, as might be expected; for they obliged the garbled houſe of commons to give them a fictitious authority to do this iniquitous deed, and then to govern only as they ſhould permit them.

He was named one of the commiſſioners to try the king, and ſat very conſtantly, being abſent only on the 12th, 13th, 18th, and 19th of January, and he ſigned the warrant for the king's death. He tells us he had the *honour* to be one of the king's judges; but as this was a *murder*, it does not leſſen the crime, becauſe many were concerned in it, nor becauſe it was acted openly and deliberately, and its being done contrary to the

laws of God and man, againſt the oaths they had taken, can never ſo long as language remains be termed an honour, but a laſting diſgrace and infamy; in that light it was then beheld, and it is ſo ſtill by poſterity. If we conſider the character of the perſonage whom they doomed to death, and the education and advantages they poſſeſſed of knowing how contrary this action of their's was to their poſitive duty, and to their ſolemn promiſes and oaths, it leaves them without excuſe.

Young as he was, the government made him one of the five to nominate the council of ſtate for 1649, which was to be inveſted with the executive power. Soon after he purchaſed the epiſcopal manors of Eaſt Knoel, and Upton in the county of Wilts, the obtaining which coſt him his wife's fortune, and a much larger ſum raiſed by the ſale of a part of his patrimonial eſtate; judging, as he ſays, that if a counter-revolution came, he ſhould be as liable to loſe his old as his new eſtates; and the end verified the juſtice of his opinion.

He was ſoon after appointed lieutenant-general of the horſe, and ſent with Cromwell and Ireton into Ireland, for which kingdom he ſailed in company with the other commiſſioners of parliament, and *lady* Ireton; he was appointed with Cromwell, Ireton, Colonels John Jones and Miles Corbet, to govern Ireland; ſo rapid a progreſs had he made ſince the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth.

In Ireland he was no leſs careſſed by his own party, than he had been in England, and he fully merited that, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the horſe which was given him; but proud, haughty, and ſtubbon, the moment that Cromwell was declared protector, he refuſed his civil office, though he reſolved to retain his rank in the army; no arguments of Cromwell could prevail upon him to change his reſolutions; and he told Henry Cromwell, the protector's ſecond ſon, when he came to Ireland, that he would not ſubmit to any power but the parliament, ſaying what he averred was "not perſonal, but would "be the ſame were my own father alive, and in "the place of your's."

When the army in Ireland drew up a petition to the protector, acknowledging him as ſuch, and expreſſing their duty to him, he took means to prevent its being ſigned; and when Lieutenant-general Fleetwood ſent to him to reſign his commiſſion, on that account, he refuſed, telling the meſſenger it was in ſuch a part of his houſe, and he might take it, but he would not give it him; Fleetwood then reaſoned with him reſpecting his conduct; but all his anſwer was, he ſoon meant to retire in peace to England; but he drew up a letter ſtating his having received his commiſſion from the parliament, and juſtifying a manifeſto he had publiſhed containing the grounds of his diſſatisfaction.

At length, after much altercation, he had the alternative to be a priſoner in Ireland, or to ap-

pear before the protector, and he, chuſing the former, expected to have been put on board a man of war, and ſent into England, but he was detained for ſome time, and then told he might go, and ſettle his affairs in England, if he would return into Ireland within ſix months, and give his promiſe not to engage againſt the government, but he continued to act in ſo very high a ſtyle, that his regiment was diſbanded, as unfit to ſerve, and himſelf watched with peculiar jealouſy; a jealouſy we cannot wonder at, when we read this extract from a letter of Henry Cromwell, who was returned to Ireland, written to ſecretary Thurloe. "Ludlow has not ſpared any company or opportunie to vent his venemous diſcontents, and that in reproachful and reflectinge language, verry much to the amazement of all ſober men, amongſt whome he hathe rather loſte than gained acceptation by it. He hath refuſed to act in his civil capacitie ſince the change; but will not leave his military, becauſe profittable, unleſſe it be taken from him." Mr. Lloyd ſays his conduct was "moſt childiſh, not refraining very poyſenous and bitter expreſſions in publique meetings, for which I conceive it is, that he is ſoe much cried up with the anabaptiſts of late, and ever ſince, admitted to the private weekly meetings, which before was denyed him. He refuſes to act as commiſſioner, and acts only as lieutenant-general."

"The riddle can be reſolved noe otherwiſe than by this diſtinction, that the one is more bene-

" ficial than the other." But all this is unnoticed by the lieutenant-general himſelf; in his memoirs we hear nothing of the anabaptiſts, nothing of this regard to pecuniary motives, but it is loſt in his pretended deſire to draw again his ſword againſt the government of a ſingle perſon; though it was well known there was no force that could be drawn againſt Cromwell; neither is he accurate in his relation of himſelf, about not ſigning an engagement to the protector, which he declares he abſolutely denied to comply with; but Mr. Thomas Herbert, clerk of the council in Ireland, gives ſecretary Thurloe a relation, that he had rather choſen to give his parole in writing, to appear at Whitehall before his highneſs, than to deliver up his commiſſions, and that he had been in cloſe reſtraint at the ſerjeant at arms ſince January 17, 1654, and ſo continued at that time, February 4, following; and he gives us the engagement, which I here ſubjoin.

Lieutenant-general Ludlow's Engagement.

" Whereas Mr. Juſtice Cook, Colonel Her-
" bert, and Captain Shaw, (by virtue of an or-
" der of the lord deputy and council, dated the
" 29th of this inſtant, January,) are authorized
" to demand and to receive my two military
" commiſſions, as lieutenant-general of the horſe,
" and colonel of horſe in Ireland, or to take my
" parole in writing, that by, or before, the 10th

" day of March next (wind and weather favour-
" ing) I ſhould preſent myſelf unto the lord pro-
" tector; I do hereby engage my parole unto the
" aforeſaid gentlemen, that I will accordingly
" (the Lord permitting) tender myſelf unto the
" lord protector at Whitehall by that time; and
" that in the mean time I ſhall act nothing di-
" rectly or indirectly to the diſturbance of the
" peace, or the prejudice of the preſent govern-
" ment. Witneſs my hand at Monutayne, near
" Dublin, the 30th January, 1654.

" EDMOND LUDLOW."

But, as if this was not ſufficient, he ſigned another ſtill more explicit, before he left Ireland.

Lieutenant-general Ludlow's Engagement.

" Whereas I have lately receaved a command
" for my reſtraint from going into England, yett
" nevertheles the lord deputie of Ireland, taking
" into his conſideration the preſſing neceſſities
" which lyeth upon me, for the ſettling of my
" affaires in England, and he, permitting my
" repaire thither, I doe heereby engage, that I
" will not adviſe, contrive, conſent, abett, or
" act, directly or indirectly, any thing to the pre-
" judice or diſturbance of the preſent govern-
" ment, under his highneſs the lord protector,
" unleſs, before I ſhall adviſe, contrive, conſent,
" abett, or act, as aforeſaid, directly or indi-
" rectly, any thing to the diſturbance of the ſaid

" government, I ſhall render myſelfe perſonally " unto his highneſs, or to the ſaid lord deputie, " and deſire to be from this engagement. Dated " at the Phœnix, Auguſt 29, 1655.

" EDMOND LUDLOW."

Henry Cromwell, major-general of the army in Ireland, writes the ſame day to ſecretary Thurloe, telling him, that " if you give lieutenant-" general Ludlow leave to come over to England, " you will find him very troubleſome, and that " you would be neceſſitated to deale with him as " you have done with Harriſon, which would " but make him conſiderable. He declares it " that he will not be under any obligation, be-" cauſe he does not knowe but that God may give " ane opportunity for him to appear for the li-" bertie of the people. He is verry high, and " much diſſatisfyed, and therefore their ought to " be further care what is done as to him."

Notwithſtanding his engagement, he got away privately, and landed at Beaumaris, in Angleſea, but an order came from the protector, to ſecure him as ſoon as he ſhould arrive with his family, and it was with difficulty he could prevail upon the governor not to ſend him to the caſtle, the moſt unwholeſome place imaginable; this, he flattered himſelf, happened, for fear he ſhould ſow diſcontents amongſt the Iriſh brigade, which was there expecting the wind, but this was only his own idea; for Thurloe tells Henry Cromwell how unexpectedly he came over; a proof that it was the deſign of the protector to keep him in Ire-

land; alſo that he was pleaſed Captain Shaw, whom the council of Ireland ſent after, had been able to detain him there, and that an expreſs had been ſent to confirm their orders, and to ſecure him, if thoſe given in Ireland ſhould not have been executed.

His liberty was as much preſſed by Fleetwood, as it was oppoſed by Lambert; to ſatisfy the former, Colonels John Jones and Sadler came to Beaumaris with Captain Shaw, who had inſtructions to get an engagement from him, which, at length, he was prevailed upon to comply with, giving his own comment upon it, that it was to be no longer in force than until he had ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner at Whitehall; he then was permitted to leave his confinement, which, Thurloe ſays, was in the caſtle, and proceed towards London, having ſuffered, he acknowledges, greater hardſhips in this impriſonment, than when confined by the king, and that he found more humanity from Lord Fitz William, though a papiſt, than from thoſe he had fought with, to ſubdue both them and the national church, againſt which, he always ſpeaks with peculiar aſperity.

After ſome petty inconveniences upon the road, he reached London, and was introduced to the protector, where a moſt curious dialogue enſued, Cromwell telling him, that if NERO *were in power, it would be his duty to ſubmit:* to which he replied, *he was ready to ſubmit*, that he knew of no deſign againſt him, but if Providence opened a way, and gave him an opportunity of appearing in behalf

of the people, he ſhould not conſent to tie his hands, and oblige himſelf to remain ſtill.

The protector ſaid, "it is not reaſonable to ſuf- "fer one to come within my houſe, till he aſſure "me he will do me no miſchief." "I am not," rejoined Ludlow, "accuſtomed to go to any "houſe, unleſs I expect to be welcome, neither "am I come hither, but from a meſſage from "you, and deſire nothing more than to breathe "the freſh air, to which I conceive I have an "equal right with other men."

The protector then inveighed greatly againſt Major Wildman, ſaying, he deſerved to be hanged, and that he muſt be ſecured, unleſs he gave an undertaking not to act againſt him, telling Ludlow that he was aſhamed of the engagement he had given to Fleetwood, which was more proper for a general who had been taken priſoner, and that yet had an army of thirty thouſand men in the field, than for one in his ſituation; the protector then, ſoftening, told him that he wiſhed him as well as any one of his council, and deſired him to make choice of ſome place to be in, where he might have good air. Mr. Ludlow replied, his diſlike was not to his perſon, but, that if his own father was alive, and in his place, his prejudices would be as ſtrong. Oliver acknowledged that he had carried himſelf openly, and that he had no juſt cauſe to do otherwiſe.

Colonel Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, obſerved, that he had ſaid, that "if Providence "ſhould offer an occaſion, he was ready to act

" againſt the preſent government;" but, if Ludlow is to be credited, the reſt of the council were aſhamed of what he ſaid, but why, it is difficult to ſuppoſe.

Major-general Lambert, aſking why he would not acknowledge the government as lawful, he ſaid, " it was, in ſubſtance, re-eſtabliſhing that " which they had all engaged to deſtroy, at ſo " great an expence of blood and treaſure." " What then," ſays Lambert, " would you ac- " count to be a ſufficient warrant to act againſt " the preſent authority? Why a rational hope, " to be ſupported by an authority equal, or ſupe- " rior, to the preſent one, if, perſuaded, it would " employ its power for the good of mankind." " Who," ſays he, " is a judge of this? we all " think ſo, and we ourſelves ſuppoſe that we have " uſed the beſt of our endeavours to that end."

He told them then, they had the leſs to anſwer for, as every man was obliged to act according to his reaſon, which rule, by God's aſſiſtance, he was determined to obſerve. Colonel Sydenham ſpoke of the poſſibility of being miſtaken in ſuch a juſt and rational call to act, which Ludlow explained to be " a probable ground, otherwiſe he " ſhould be guilty of his own blood, and that of " thoſe he induced to engage with."

They then deſired him to withdraw, and Fleetwood went to him, requeſting he would undertake, if it was only for a week; but he ſaid having appeared there, he had fulfilled his engagement, and he would not do it farther, even for a

day; and he then went home to his lodgings, without any moleſtation, to employ his leiſure about his private affairs.

This is altogether a curious tranſaction, and deſerves a particular comment. Here is Ludlow acting a moſt magiſterical part, and treating the protector as if that great man was to behave entirely in obedience to his mandate. He, in his memoirs, when ſpeaking of, or, as it were, to him, uſed only the plain language of "you" as an equal; but it ſhould appear he did not go all that length, becauſe we ſee him in his written engagements uſe the words Protector and Highneſs. He is highly offended at Cromwell for his authority, as chief prince or governor, and treats it as uſurpation; as if the commonwealth was not alſo uſurpation; the law knew of no ſuch form; it was a monſter in theſe kingdoms, and, of the two, the protectorial power was neareſt to what the legal government ought to be.

But then, ſay they, we faſted and prayed, and put all to the iſſue of the ſword, ſuppoſing God would own whoſe cauſe was the moſt juſt, and the king did ſo too; he was conquered, and we deſtroyed him, and erected our government that providence had owned. The king at his death told them it was all, as far as he could ſee, by way of conqueſt. What was Oliver's but conqueſt? he faſted and prayed; what then? why he became protector; and if God owned the commonwealth becauſe they were ſucceſsful, he muſt have owned him, becauſe he was ſtill more victorious.

We ſee the protector's council, who had fought to deſtroy monarchy and a legal ſovereign, now arguing how unlawful it was to take up arms againſt the perſon of the chief magiſtrate; and, to crown the whole, behold Cromwell ſtained with the blood of a monarch poſſeſſing many virtues, telling Ludlow, that he ought to ſubmit to him, though he was a Nero.

None of theſe arguments are juſt; but, on the contrary, all aroſe from the peculiar circumſtances of theſe different characters, all implicated in one common crime; for ſeveral of the council were alſo regicides; how careful therefore ought men to avoid leaving the known, juſt rule of life, and not plunge into thoſe perplexities, which ever embarraſs, and lead men into difficulties it is impoſſible to extricate themſelves from.

It appears by Thurloe's letter to Henry Cromwell, that it was only to pacify Fleetwood, Oliver's ſon-in-law, that he was permitted to come to London, it being meant to ſecure him ſoon; and it would have been wonderful if any government ſhould have given leave to ſuch a man to be at large; his conduct was injurious to himſelf, his family, and friends, and could not poſſibly have been advantageous to any.

The protector ſpared no pains to gain him; for ſending for him again, he attempted to reaſon with him, but to as little purpoſe. He was aſked at this time by Mr. Strictland, "why he ſhould "ſo object to the government, even if it was "held by the ſword; was it not that by which

"you held Wardour Caſtle?" and though he uſed much ſophiſtry, he did not deſtroy the propriety of the queſtion.

The arguments he uſed did not convince Oliver, who demanded a bond in the penalty of 5000l. to oblige him to keep the peace; but he declining it, he was put under the care of Dendy, ſerjeant at arms, who permitted him, however, at his deſire, to remain in his own chamber.

When Oliver hunted the next day at Hampton Court, he aſked Mr. Thomas Ludlow, whether he was angry with him for committing his relation; to which he prudenly anſwered, it was not proper for him to judge concerning ſuch actions; the protector then aſſured him, that he wiſhed him as well as one of his own children, and only required that he would make him eaſy for both their ſecurities, which the following day Mr. Thomas Ludlow in vain urged him to.

Cromwell, who never was ſevere without neceſſity, was pleaſed to permit him to retire into Eſſex with Mr. and Mrs. Oldſworth, and his wife. This was undoubtedly a lenity which few ſovereigns would have extended to one ſo ſtubborn and untractable, eſpecially when it was well known to his highneſs that he ſtill continued to aſſociate with Major-general Harriſon and other deſperate malecontents, of the fifth monarchy men. With Harriſon, he liberally beſpattered Oliver with the names of tyrant and uſurper.

He was ſuffered to remain in the boſom of his

friends during the remainder of the protector's government, and unmoleſted; a rare inſtance of forbearance. He condeſcended to ſit in Richard's parliament, though he would not call it by any other name than a convention, owning no authority but his own peculiar uſurpation; for after the legal government was deſtroyed, each was as lawful as another.

Upon the return of the long parliament he was all activity, ſometimes appearing in England, at others in Ireland, ſtriving in vain to uphold a ſyſtem that was become extremely odious and unpopular in both kingdoms.

Having greatly promoted the deſtruction of the protector Richard's power, and the return of the long parliament, he was choſen one of the committee of ſafety, obtained Colonel Goff's regiment, elected one of the council of ſtate, and appointed commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, at which time he received from the ſpeaker no leſs than four commiſſions; one for the above purpoſe, a ſecond for a regiment of horſe, a third for one of foot, and a fourth conſtituting him lieutenant-general of the horſe; this certainly was no very great proof of ſelf-denial, yet he values himſelf upon his moderation in iſſuing out his mandates only relative to the pay of the army in caſes of peculiar urgency.

He had no ſooner arrived in Ireland, than the army, which had always been maſters of the parliament, now treated them as their moſt abject

ſlaves, he therefore haſtened back to try to make ſome pacification between them; but it was commanding the raging elements to be ſtill; he therefore ſet ſail again for Ireland.

Hated by the army, and ill beloved by many in parliament, he was ordered to attend his duty in the houſe, and ſoon after to go into Ireland; but he was accuſed of high treaſon before he could get thither. Mortified at ſuch a return for all his valiant ſtubbornneſs to Cromwell, he told the parliament, that "it ſeemed to him ſuch a requital of his faithful ſervices, that if he expected his reward from men, he ſhould rather chuſe to ſerve the great Turk." Such was the cordiality, ſuch the gratitude of republicans to each other.

He had the boldneſs to go to the parliament again, but none treated him with aſperity; on the contrary, ſome jeſtingly told him, that he was received "in a manner not uſual for men accuſed of high treaſon." "He found his charge to be, aſſiſting the army in England, and doing acts of hoſtility by ſea and land againſt thoſe in Ireland, who had declared for the parliament."

It was in vain he thrice petitioned for a hearing; all was confuſion, and General Monk returning at this time from Scotland, threw every thing into greater myſtery; he applied to his excellency, but whom he found ſo little diſpoſed to hearken to his complaints, that in deſpair he adviſed one of the principal leaders of the parlia-

ment to ſummon the houſe to ſit in the Tower, as the place of greateſt ſecurity.

Convinced that the republican cauſe was loſt, he withdrew to his own houſe, and ſoon after left London, where he had been under ſuch conſtant fear, that he ſeldom durſt ſleep at home. The moment he had left the city, the new council of ſtate ſummoned him to attend them, but underſtanding he was gone into the country upon his private affairs, they affected to be ſatisfied. Had he then appeared, it would, however, have been his ruin, becauſe he would have refuſed to ſign ſuch an engagement as others had done, who were implicated in the ſame crime: the conſequence would have been a commitment to the Tower, where King Charles II. muſt have found him, and then his doom had been irrevocably fixed.

Though he had gone to his eſtate by devious roads, yet, when he got there, he openly ſhewed himſelf, and at Maiden Bradley he held a court, at Yartenfield, to raiſe what money he could amongſt his tenants, by filling up leaſes, and changing lives: he went from thence to his manor of Knoyle for the ſame purpoſe; which was not acting ſtrictly juſt, as he knew, that by the return of the king, which evidently would ſoon take place, thoſe from whom he had procured money muſt, in all probability, be great ſufferers; and as the borough of Hindon voluntarily at this time choſe him one of their repreſentatives, and it was partly in the manor juſt ſpoken of, it ſhewed a want of true generoſity, in thus ſacri-

ficing men who had given him the moſt decided proofs of their confidence.

He received a meſſage from Lambert, who had eſcaped out of the Tower, and put himſelf at the head of an army, to join his ſtandard; they had ever been rivals and enemies, yet, had not Lambert loſt his liberty again, almoſt as ſoon as he had re-gained it, their own danger would have united them in ſentiment, as far at leaſt as their common intereſt demanded; he knew that Lambert aimed at his own particular aggrandizement, and Lambert was conſcious that he would have been as hateful to him, if he could have gained the protectorate as Cromwell had ever been; yet their fears of the return of royalty was ſuch, that any expedient was better than having it take place; like many of the heroes of that period, they would have attacked the common enemy, as they termed the king, and if fortune had been propitious they would then have decided their own particular quarrel.

Not to brave a danger which was now become viſible to all, he left Saliſbury where he could not eſcape obſervation; and by the moſt unfrequented roads came to London, eluding by that mean the meſſenger ſent to apprehend him. At the ſame time, as it was declared that he was duly returned for Hindon, the parliament ordered that he ſhould attend the houſe by a particular day; in this ſituation he conſulted ſome of the leading members, whom he placed the greateſt reliance in, who adviſed him to appear in his place, but to

be ſilent as to the late king's death, or at leaſt not to juſtify the proceedings of the high court of juſtice, becauſe it would not be ſuffered; he promiſed that unleſs conſtrained, he would not mention the matter, but if it ſhould be ſpoken of to him, he would not prevaricate though it ſhould coſt him his life; but in the end he did not judge it prudent to go thither, fearing the conſequences.

Seeing his ruin inevitable, he ordered his bailiff in Ireland, to diſpoſe of his ſtock, which was worth about one thouſand five hundred pounds, and to collect in his rents; but it being neglected, he aſſigned them to his brother-in-law Colonel Kempſon, as a ſatisfaction for his ſiſter's fortune; but Sir Charles Coote getting intelligence of it, ſeized the whole, except four ſtallions which were in his ſtable, and they were taken off by Colonel Theophilus Jones; "theſe men," ſays the lieutenant-general "who had engaged in "the ſame cauſe, outdoing our enemies in rage "and cruelty to us." Here is another inſtance of republican honour.

As he was ordered to ſurrender himſelf with the others of the king's judges, he applied to ſeveral whom he had ſuppoſed were his friends for aſſiſtance and protection; but the cauſe of his diſgrace had rendered him ſo hateful, that he found few who choſe to do him the leaſt kindneſs. Mr. James Herbert, a member of the convention parliament, at length promiſed for his appearance until he gave a perſonal ſecurity. The method he procured ſureties was artful, and no way more

honourable than his behaviour at Hindon had been, for he ſelected for this purpoſe his uncle Colonel Thomas Stradling, a loyaliſt of broken fortune, who had been almoſt ruined by an engagement he had made to pay his brother Sir Edward Stradling's debts; Colonel Edward Sutton, who had been knighted ſince his majeſty's return, but had no other eſtate, but in right of his wife; Mr. Etherington, who from having a conſiderable eſtate became worth nothing; and Thomas Aſhton, a citizen of London, who had been a taylor, and was then in great poverty; Colonel Sutton was prevented by an arreſt, attending; the others receiving a little money, were well pleaſed with the buſineſs, as he tells us; and by ſubjecting them to impriſonment, at leaſt, he was enabled to withdraw, and, as he pretended, with honour to himſelf.

Both the loyaliſts and republicans concurred in the neceſſity of his ruin; there were ſome who promiſed to do all they could in his favour, but they were in the intereſt of the king, and it was impoſſible to ſave a man, who had unneceſſarily boaſted of crimes, which now were calling for vengeance, by the whole nation, and in which all parties, except a few fanatics, concurred. Lord Stourton alone ſeemed to really wiſh to ſave him in the houſe of peers; and he had very few in the lower houſe. The ſpeaker, however, earneſtly ſolicited Mrs. Ludlow to perſuade him to ſurrender, for if he did not, he told her, ſhould he be ſeized, "he was like to be the firſt man ex-

" ecuted, and ſhe to be left the pooreſt widow in " England."

Not willing to truſt himſelf in the hands of government, he took leave of his deareſt friends and relations, and paſſing in a coach, at the cloſe of the day through the city over London Bridge, to St. George's church in Southwark a perſon waited to preſent him with two horſes, mounting one, his guide conducted him ſafe to Lewes, by carefully ſhunning the great roads; and he paſſed over to Dieppe in the very veſſel which had juſt returned from conveying the protector Richard to the continent. It had by accident been ſtruck upon the ſands, and the perſon who came to ſearch thoſe who lay there, fortunately for him never went to it, ſuppoſing from its appearance that it neither had people nor property on board. It was remarkable too, that the maſter, who had been accuſtomed to go to the ports of Ireland at the time when he had been one of the chief perſons in that kingdom, amongſt other things, inquired, " if Lieutenant-" general Ludlow was impriſoned, with the reſt " of the king's judges," to which he anſwered, " I have not heard of any ſuch thing."

Paſſing through France, he came to Geneva; but finding himſelf not ſafe there, he removed to Lauſanne in Switzerland, where he was protected, and lived generally eſteemed and admired, for the inhabitants of that country entertained the ſame ſentiments of government which had made him an exile. It was a conſoling thing to him to have

for his companions ſome of the other proſcribed refugees; amongſt whom, were Barkſtead, once the lieutenant of the Tower, and Serjeant Dendy, in whoſe cuſtody he had been in Oliver's protectorate; men guilty of all kinds of baſeneſs, as inſtruments of the worſt of Cromwell's ſeverities; but now as regicides with him, were alike confeſſors for liberty, and the former in a little time became a martyr in the ſame cauſe.

Here he lived thirty-two years, ſurviving the reign of King Charles II. and ſaw King James II. dethroned; after which event, to manifeſt his zeal for his country, and to obtain permiſſion to die in his own land, he ſet ſail for Ireland to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Londonderry, in the year 1689; but King William III. though he always ſhewed an indecent diſlike to the memory of his maternal grandfather, King Charles I. finding one of his murderers was in the fleet, ſent him a meſſage to quit it, or he muſt have him ſeized; ſo that he was obliged to return again to his former place of exile.

King William has been cenſured for this, but very unjuſtly: he knew that Mr. Ludlow had carried on various intrigues with the Dutch to ſend him over with a body of forces to England, to renew "the good old cauſe;" and though he might infinitely prefer William to James, yet, as he was the champion againſt the government being veſted in any ſingle perſon, he would revolt the moment an opportunity preſented itſelf: and

he had often ſtrove to erect a republican ſtandard to depoſe William as Stadtholder of Holland.

He married the daughter of Michael Oldſworth, of Eſſex, Eſq. a member of Parliament for Saliſbury, governor of Pembroke and Montgomery, alſo keeper of Windſor Park, and one of the two maſters of the prerogative office, and who alſo received other places of emolument under the commonwealth. Mr. Ludlow, fortunately, had no child. In private life he was reſpectable, but probably not amiable, becauſe moroſe and ſevere in every part of his character; of great abilities, unimpeached integrity in his duty to the public, and, according to his erroneous ideas, a friend to liberty; but it was ſuch a liberty, that can never be carried into execution whilſt man is poſſeſſed of paſſions and failings. It was his misfortune to have a father who gave him ſuch an erroneous bias; had this his ſon received juſt notions of the Britiſh conſtitution, he would probably have been a diſtinguiſhed ornament to his country, a happineſs to his family and to his friends.

The civil war was very fatal to the Ludlows; his father, Sir Henry, died of a broken heart, for the loſs of his ſon, Captain Robert Ludlow, whoſe death was occaſioned by a wound he received, and the ill treatment he experienced whilſt a priſoner; for the fears he entertained relative to this, his other ſon, the lieutenant general, then in imminent danger at Wardour Caſtle; and from the impriſonment of his friend, Mr. Marten, for treaſon. A Major William Ludlow was ſhot through the

body, and otherwiſe dreadfully wounded; and a Cornet Gabriel Ludlow killed. It was a very numerous family. Mr. George Ludlow, a relation of the lieutenant general, was extremely ſerviceable to the parliament in Virginia, in North America. Mr. Roger Ludlow, another couſin, ſerved in the ſame cauſe in Ireland: he alſo mentions his relation Mr. William Ludlow, of Clarendon; and Mr. Thomas Ludlow, who was in ſervice near the perſon of Oliver the protector.

During the ſolitary hours of exile, Mr. Ludlow wrote Memoirs of himſelf, publiſhed at twice; the two firſt volumes in the year 1698, the laſt in 1699; all of them at Vevay, in the canton of Bern, in Switzerland. To the firſt is an engraved portrait of him, without the name of the artiſt; another engraving of him is by Cipriani, half ſheet, at the expence of the late Mr. Hollis, of ſingular memory, who, from his attachment to the memory and principles of the lieutenant general, publiſhed a very elegant edition of his works. There is another portrait of him, in a quarto ſize, by Ravenet.

Lord Ludlow, who has had an Iriſh Earldom conferred upon him by his preſent majeſty, is deſcended from a brother of the ſubject of this memoir.

The Life of Sir THOMAS MAULEVERER, *Bart.*

SIR THOMAS MAULEVERER was deſcended from a moſt ancient and knightly family, ſeated at Allerton-Mauleverer, in Yorkſhire, ever ſince the reign of William the Conqueror. This name is ſo variouſly written, that no two authors ſpell it alike; in ancient writings it is given MALUS LEPORARIUS, i. e. *Mal-le-vorer*, or the *Bad Hare-hunter*: and tradition ſays it was impoſed upon the family, becauſe a gentleman, their anceſtor, being to let ſlip a brace of greyhounds, to run for a wager, ſo ill managed it, that they were more likely to ſtrangle themſelves, than kill the hare.

He was eldeſt ſon and heir of Sir Richard Mauleverer, of Allerton-Mauleverer, Eſq. high ſheriff of Yorkſhire, who had two wives; his firſt was Jane, ſole daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Mauleverer, of Allerton-Mauleverer, Knt. who had been, before ſhe became his wife, twice a widow; firſt to Sir Henry, ſecond ſon of Thomas Lord Wharton; ſecondly, to Robert Lord Ogle. Sir Richard's ſecond wife was Catherine, daughter of Sir Ralph Bouchier, who, ſurviving him, remarried Sir Richard Trevor. The iſſue of the firſt marrige of Sir Richard Mauleverer was,

Sir Thomas, whom King Charles I. Auguſt 4, 1641, created a baronet; who, though thus diſtinguiſhed by his majeſty, deſerved the appellation *de malis operibus*; in French *Mal-ouverer*, as ſome

derive the ſurname; for he took the greateſt pains to injure his ſovereign from the very commencement of the civil wars; he raiſed two regiments of foot, and one of horſe, for the uſe of the parliament; and behaved ſo ill to the king, that in 1642 he was declared a traitor: this ſerved only to exaſperate him the more, and raiſe him higher in the eſtimation of the parliament; which in 1647 granted him one thouſand pounds in part of the arrears due to him; yet he ſo injured his fortune by his acrimony againſt the king, that he was obliged to diſpoſe of the lordſhip of Armley.

He was conſtantly one of the committee of the parliament in the Eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire, as was Thomas Mauleverer, Eſq.; I ſuppoſe, the ſame perſon who was a colonel in the army, and governor of the important caſtle of Hull.

Sir Thomas being appointed one of the king's judges, attended every day, the twelfth of January excepted; and he ſigned the warrant to put the unhappy monarch to death, which was particularly infamous in him; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his unrighteouſneſs.

He married twice; firſt, Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Hutton, a juſtice of the common pleas, by whom he had no iſſue; and Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Wilbraham, Knt.; by this lady he had three children; Grace, married to Colonel Thomas Scot, alſo one of the regicides; Elizabeth, married to Mr. Richard Beverly; and

The brave and loyal Sir Richard Mauleverer, whom Oliver the protector impriſoned in Cheſter

Caſtle; from whence, at the imminent hazzard of his life, he eſcaped; but was ſoon after ſeized and impriſoned in York Caſtle, and made his eſcape from thence, all in the month of March 1655-6, and was received, as his loyalty merited, at the court of his exiled ſovereign. Oliver having granted a protection to his lady to reſide at his ſeat in Yorkſhire, the commiſſioners for that county wrote to his highneſs to ſay, that ſhe appeared to them to be "of a very dangerous ſpirit, "and to have been very active in the late plot, "and a promoter of it; and that ſhe was found "to come within the firſt article of our inſtruc-"tions; and that it will be of evil conſequence "to reſtore her to the liberty of that habitation, "and tend to the diſcouragement, both of the "honeſt tenants and many well-affected perſons "thereabouts. The conſequences of which they "humbly laid before his highneſs." This lady was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Clark.

At the reſtoration, notwithſtanding Sir Thomas Mauleverer was attainted as if living, his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to confirm the title, and permit the eſtate to remain in Sir Richard, in reward for his loyalty, and the dangers it had ſubjected him to.

Sir Richard by this lady had ſeven children. Thomas, Richard, William, Charles, Henry, Judith, and Mary. Sir Thomas, the eldeſt, ſucceeded to the title, but left no iſſue by Catherine, daughter of Sir Miles Stapylton, who remarried John Hopton, Eſq. Sir Richard, the ſecond ſon, married

Barbara, daughter of Sir Henry Slingſby, Bart. grand-daughter of the loyal Sir Henry, put to death by Oliver, by whom he left iſſue, Sir Richard Mauleverer, the fifth and, I think, laſt baronet. Her ladyſhip married twice afterwards, John Lord Arundel, of Trerice; and Thomas Earl of Pembroke.

The Life of ROBERT MANWARING, *Esq.*

Robert Manwaring, Esq. was, no doubt, of that very ancient and knightly family, the head of whom were created baronets, and seated at Over Pever, in Cheshire; but it is so numerous a family, and spread out so wide, that many persons mentioned in our history, like this gentleman, are of unknown branches.

It is probable he was a near relation to Randal Manwaring, Esq. a citizen and alderman of London, whom King Charles I. excepted as one of the persons he could not pardon, when he answered the city's address in 1642; and who afterwards became a colonel in the parliament army, as did Thomas Manwaring, Esq. who was appointed registrar-accountant for money raised by bishops' lands, with a salary of two hundred pounds a year.

Mr. Robert Manwaring, however, refused to act as one of the king's judges; and therefore his name is not handed down to us with ignominy. I suppose he was an officer in the army.

A Colonel Manwaring, of London, was appointed by both houses of parliament, in December 1645, searcher of Sandwich and Dover.

The Life of HENRY MARTEN, *Esq:*

HENRY MARTEN, Esq. was son and heir apparent of Sir Henry Marten, L. L. D. a judge of the admiralty, and who wished to moderate the misunderstanding that arose between King Charles the First and his parliament; in the last of which he sat as a member for the borough of St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire.

The first account that I find of this gentleman is in the year 1639, when he was one of those who excused themselves from contributing money towards the Scotch war, as having otherwise assisted his majesty.

He was returned one of the members to represent the county of Berks, in the two last parliaments called by King Charles I. and the latter was the ever-memorable one, in which he made a most conspicuous figure.

Mr. Marten had peculiar advantages at the commencement of his public life, having received a learned education at Oxford, the place of his nativity. He became a gentleman commoner in University College when only fifteen years old; and in 1607 he received a batchelor of arts' degree.

Upon his leaving college, he applied to the study of the law, in one of the Inns; but his mind probably was too volatile for that dry profession: quitting it, he took a tour through France; and

upon his return greatly enriched himſelf by a marriage with a rich widow.

Sir Henry, his father, was extremely converſant in buſineſs; and it would have been of ſingular uſe to him, had he acted with that prudence that might have been expected from the care and admonitions of ſo able a monitor; but, on the contrary, he was all violence from the very commencement of the civil war.

The parliament appointed him colonel of a regiment of horſe; but he more diſtinguiſhed himſelf with his tongue than his ſword; as a moſt convincing proof of which take the following relation:

One of the puritanic clergy, named Saltmarſh, having in Auguſt 1643, amongſt other improper expreſſions, ſaid that "all means ſhould be uſed "to keep the king and his people from a ſudden "union; that the war ought to be cheriſhed "under the notion of popery, as the ſureſt means "to engage the people, and that if the king "would not grant their demands, then to root him "out and the royal line, and to collate the crown "upon ſomebody elſe." The houſe of commons very properly expreſſed their indignation againſt ſuch dangerous poſitions; though too many of them were known to be guided by ſuch ſentiments.

Mr. Marten, who thought exactly as Mr. Saltmarſh, except in the article of giving the crown to any other when they had taken it from the legal poſſeſſor, ſaid, in the courſe of the debate

about the obnoxious book, that " he ſaw no rea-
" ſon to condemn Mr. Saltmarſh, and that it were
" better one family ſhould be deſtroyed than
" many."

Sir Nevil Pole, moving that " Mr. Marten
" ſhould explain what one family he meant," he boldly anſwered, " the king and his children." This called up the indignation of many truly loyal members, who repreſenting both the extreme profligacy of his life, and the very dangerous tendency of his anſwer, moved that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower; which paſſing in the affirmative, he was ſent thither: but his party, who thought he had only ſpoken too early his ſentiments, uſing their influence, he was releaſed from his confinement; but it did not prevent his expulſion from the houſe.

In January 1645-6, many in the houſe of commons coming nearer to Mr. Marten's political creed, procured a vote, that the former judgment againſt him, by which he was expelled their walls, ſhould be void, and eraſed out of their journals, and that he ſhould enjoy the benefit of his firſt election; this, ſays Whitlock, gave occaſion for ſome to obſerve, that the houſe began to be more averſe to the king.

They even gave him the government of Reading, and highly reſented the arreſt of one of his menial ſervants; ſo that he ſeemed more inviolable than his ſovereign, and his inſolence became unbounded; he ſtopped a letter which the Earl of Northumberland ſent to his counteſs, and

opened it, thinking he ſhould have diſcovered ſome correſpondence between that nobleman and the king; and though his lordſhip was a partizan of the parliament, yet this ſcandalous conduct was applauded rather than cenſured.

The great peer, however, did not chuſe to put up with ſuch an inſult, and meeting the colonel after a conference between the two houſes, in the Painted Chamber, queſtioned him about it, and he, inſtead of apologizing, giving ſome rude anſwers to juſtify what he had done, the earl cudgelled him before the whole company of lords and commoners: upon which many ſwords were drawn, to the great reproach and ſcandal of the parliament, and the ill-will of each houſe to the other.

There was a petition ſent up from Berks againſt him, complaining, that he, and Colonel Ayres, and Mr. Walrond, were raiſing horſe in that county, both without the approbation of the inhabitants, or the authority of parliament; for which he was ordered to attend, to give an account of it, by a vote paſſed Auguſt 16, 1648, and the others were ſent for as priſoners.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſgraceful traits in his character, he continued to be extremely truſted by the houſe of commons, and though his life ſhamed all decency of manners, yet he too was a great advocate for his own religious tenets, and conſtantly ſided with the independents.

The army being triumphant, and ſeeing that the nation, panting for an end to the troubles,

pitied their captive ſovereign, and wiſhed that by agreeing with the parliament or the Scotch, he might obtain the reſtitution of his juſt prerogatives, they therefore reſolved to come to ſome determination what they ſhould do to ſecure thoſe advantages which they had gained.

At a conſultation of the firſt commanders in the army, Mr. Marten, as a colonel, attended, and he cut the matter ſhort, by telling them they ſhould "ſerve his majeſty, as the Engliſh did his "Scotch grand-mother, cut off his head." This horrid advice was adopted, and he was the firſt to diſpoſe every thing for the completion of the villany; and as one of the commiſſioners in the high court of juſtice, he ſat every day, three excepted, the 13th, 18th, and 19th, and ſigned the warrant to put the ſentence into execution.

To him was referred all the alterations in the public arms, in the great ſeal, and the legends upon the money. It was ſingular that the croſs made a part of the firſt. The great ſeal exhibited on one ſide a map of England, inſcribed, "the "great ſeal of England;" on the reverſe, a repreſentation of the houſe of commons, round which was, "in the firſt year of freedom by "God's bleſſing reſtored 1648." Upon the money was a ſhield bearing the croſs of St. George, incircled with a palm and olive branch, inſcribed, "the commonwealth of England," and on the reverſe, "God with us, 1648." Which gave occaſion to ſome to remark that God and the commonwealth were not on the ſame ſide.

He who had been for his hatred to the perſon and family of the king ſent to the Tower, and expelled the houſe, now, for proceeding to the greateſt extremities, became a moſt popular character; his former ſufferings were looked upon as ſufficient to entitle him to the greateſt recompence; they voted the eſtabliſhment of his regiment; he was conſtantly gratified with money under various pretences; ſometimes for ſums advanced for the public ſervice; in 1649 they ſettled one thouſand pounds a year upon him out of the eſtate of the Duke of Buckingham, at Eyneſham, in ſatisfaction for a debt of twenty-five thouſand pounds which he pretended to be due to him from the parliament.

As he had firſt propoſed the open deſtruction of the king, it cannot be wondered at that he ſhould diſregard the enſigns of majeſty: it was him, who, in Auguſt 1649, moved that the regalia of the crown ſhould be delivered up to the truſtees, for ſale of the deceaſed monarch's goods, to raiſe money for the ſervice of Ireland; and accordingly the cheſt in which they were depoſited was rifled of all thoſe jewels, which the neceſſities of the royal ſufferer had left.

In this, and the following year, he had very great influence in the government, both as a leading member of parliament, and one of the council of ſtate; but he could not prevent a bill paſſing to make the crimes of inceſt, adultery and fornication death, though he did not let it be carried without obſerving, " that the ſeverity of

" the puniſhment by this act being death, would " cauſe theſe ſins to be more frequently com- " mitted, becauſe people would be more cautious " in committing them for fear of the puniſh- " ment, and being undiſcovered would be em- " boldened the more in the commitment of " them;" and the following year, chiefly by his procurement, it was abrogated, from the fear he ſhould be the firſt example of the ſeverity of it, for a more diſſolute character it was impoſſible to find.

The republicans called illegitimate children Buckingham birds; it would have been more ſhort, and equally juſt, to have called them, " Martins;" for he was as open, and then a more notorious libertine than the gay unthinking duke; and when Cromwell broke up the long parliament, and taxed the members with their peculiar vices, looking to him and Sir Peter Wentworth, he ſaid, " ſome of them were whore maſters." Hume relates, that he even took Mr. Marten by the cloak when he ſpoke it. It is allowed that his extravagance, as to women, knew no bounds; he was ſaid to have not only " a regiment of " horſe, but of w—;" and he renewed the old ſtewes upon the Bank ſide.

Left now an individual, without the protection of parliament, he ſoon found his influence totally fail; it is ſaid that Oliver, at firſt, to keep him from deſperation, granted him 3000l. but, what was that to a man who had ſpent his fine patrimony, which netted him, annually, as much as

this ſum, and he ſoon was confined in the *upper* bench, as it was then termed, for debt; from this time to the reſtoration, he was ſunk ſo low in character, conſequence, and fortune, that he might have died unknown, or, at leaſt, unnoticed, had not that event brought the weight of the law upon him. Ludlow mentions his affectation of raillery in the houſe of commons, to which he was reſtored from a priſon upon its re-aſſembling, after the ruin of the protectorial power. He then obſerved of General Monk, that he was "like a "perſon who was ſent to make a ſuit of cloaths, "who brought with him a budget-full of carpen- "ter's tools, and being told that ſuch things "were not at all fit for the work he was deſired "to do, anſwered, it matters not, I will do your "work well enough, I warrant you."

At the reſtoration, he was abſolutely excepted, both as to life and property; but he had the prudence to ſurrender himſelf, in obedience to the proclamation of the parliament. He was brought to his trial at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 10, 1660, and being aſked, whether he was guilty or not, anſwered, "I deſire the bene- "fit of the act of oblivion—but being interrup- "ted and told he muſt plead guilty, or not "guilty, and that if he demanded the benefit of "the act of oblivion, it was a confeſſion of being "guilty.

"Priſoner. I humbly conceive the act of in- "demnity."

" Court. You muſt plead guilty, or not " guilty."

" P. If I plead, I loſe the benefit of that act."

" Court. You are totally excepted out of the " act."

" P. If it were ſo, I would plead. My name " is not in that act."

" Court. Henry Martin is there."

" Mr. ſolicitor general. Surely he hath been " kept a cloſe priſoner, indeed, if he hath not " ſeen the act of indemnity. Shew it him."

" Mr. Shelton opening the act."

" Court. How is it written?"

" Clerk. It is Henry Martin."

" The act being ſhewn him, he ſaid,

" HENRY MARTIN. My name is not ſo, it is " Harry Marten."

" Court. The difference of the ſound is very " little. You are known by that name of " MARTIN."

" P. I humbly conceive all *penal ſtatutes* ought " to be underſtood literally."

" Clerk. Are you guilty, or not guilty."

" P. I am not Henry Martin."

" The clerk again aſked him as before, and the " court ſaid, be adviſed, the effect of this plea " will be judgement; and the ſolicitor general " cited, ſomewhat parallel to this, in a caſe for- " merly of Baxter, where the name was Bagſter, " with an *s*, and adjudged all one, being the ſame " ſound. The clerk then put the queſtion to him " again, when, inſtead of anſwering, he ſaid,

" P. My lord, I desire council, there will " arise matter of law, as well as fact."

" The court then told him, you are indicted " for treason, for a malicious, traitorous, com- " passing and imagining the king's death; if " you have any thing of justification, plead not " guilty, and you shall be heard: for if it be jus- " tifiable, it is not treason. The rule is, either " you must plead guilty, and so confess, or not " guilty, and put yourself upon your trial, there " is no medium."

" P. May I give any thing in evidence before " a verdict?"

" Court. Yes; upon your trial you may give " any evidence that the law warrants to be " *lawful evidence.*"

" The clerk here again put the question of " guilty, or not guilty; and the court said, un- " derstand one thing, because I would not have " you mistaken, you cannot give in evidence " the misnomer."

" P. I submit, and plead not guilty."

" Clerk. How will you be tried?"

" P. By God and my country."

" Clerk. God send you a good deliverance."

" Council. He did both sign and seal the " precept for summoning the court, and the war- " rant for execution, sat almost every day, and " particularly the day of sentence."

" P. My lord, I do not decline a confession, " so as to the matter of fact, the malice set aside, " maliciously, murderously, and traitorously."

" Council. If you have any thing to ſay to " that, we will prove it."

" Lord chief baron. That I may inform you " in it, there is malice implied by law, malice " in the act itſelf; that which you call malice, " that you had no particular intention or deſign " againſt the king's perſon, but, in relation to " the government, that will not be to this preſent " buſineſs, if it ſhould extenuate any thing that " would be between God and your own ſoul; but " as to that which is alledged in the indictment, " *maliciouſly*, *murderouſly*, and *traitorouſly*, they " are the conſequences of law. If a man meet " another in the ſtreet, and run him through, in " this caſe the law implies malice; though but to " an ordinary watchman, there is malice by the " law in the fact; if there was no ſuch expreſſed " perſonal malice as you conceive, yet the fact " done implies malice in law."

" Mr. ſolicitor general. My lord, he does " think a man may ſit upon the death of the " king, ſentence him to death, ſign a warrant for " his execution, *meekly*, *innocently*, *charitably*, and " *honeſtly*."

" P. I ſhall not preſume to compare my " knowledge in the law with that of the learned " gentleman, but according to that poor under- " ſtanding of the law of England that I was ca- " pable of, there is no fact that he can name that " is a crime in itſelf, but as it is circumſtantiated. " Of killing a watchman, as your lordſhip in-

" ſtanced, a watchman may be killed in not do-
" ing his office, and yet no murder."

" Lord chief baron. I inſtanced that of a
" watchman, to ſhew there may be a malice by
" law, though not expreſſed; though a man kill
" a watchman, intending to kill another man,
" in that caſe it is malice in law againſt him:
" ſo in this caſe, if you went to kill the king
" when he was not doing his office, becauſe he
" was in priſon, and you hindered him from it,
" the law implies malice in this. It is true all
" actions are circumſtantiated, but the killing of
" the king is treaſon of all treaſons."

" Juſtice Foſter. If a watchman be killed, it
" is murder, it is in contempt of magiſtracy,
" of the powers above; the law ſays, that con-
" tempt adds to the malice."

" Council. We ſhall prove againſt the priſoner
" at the bar, (becauſe he would wipe off malice)
" he did this merrily, and was in great ſport at
" the time of the ſigning the warrant for the
" king's execution."

" P. That does not imply malice."

" EWER *ſworn.*"

" Council. Come, ſir, you are here upon your
" oath, ſpeak to my lords and the jury; you
" know the priſoner at the bar very well, you
" have ſometimes ſerved him; were you preſent
" in the Painted Chamber, January 29, 1648,

" at the ſigning the warrant, the parchment,
" againſt the king?"

" Ewer. The day I do not remember, but I
" was in that chamber to attend a gentleman
" there; I followed that gentleman, (looking at
" Mr. Marten) I followed that gentleman into
" that chamber."

" Lord chief baron. After what gentleman?"

" Ewer. Mr. Marten. My lord, I was preſ-
" ſing to come near, but I was put off by an of-
" ficer or ſoldier there, I told him I was ordered
" to be by that gentleman. My lord, I did ſee
" a pen in Mr. Cromwell's hand, and he marked
" Mr. Marten in the face with it, and Mr. Marten
" did the like to him; but I did not ſee any one
" ſet his hand, though I did ſee a parchment
" there with a great many ſeals to it."

" SIR PURBECK TEMPLE *ſworn.*"

" Council. What do you know of that gen-
" tleman in his carriage of this buſineſs?"

" Sir Purbeck Temple. My lords, I being
" preſent in town when that horrid murder was
" contrived againſt the late king, there came ſome
" perſons of honor, ſervants to the late king, to
" my father's houſe, Sir Edward Partridge, to
" engage me to join with them to attempt the
" king's eſcape. In order, whereunto they told
" me, nothing would tend ſo much to his ma-
" jeſty's ſervice, as to endeavour to diſcover ſome

" part of their counſels, for that it was reſolved " by Cromwell, to have the king tried at the " high court of juſtice, as they called it, the " next day, and deſired me, if poſſible, to be " there to diſcover their counſels, whereby the " king might have notice, and thoſe that were to " attempt his eſcape. In order, whereunto, the " next day, by giving money to the officer of the " Painted Chamber, I got in by day light in the " lobby of the lords' houſe; I eſpied a hole in " the wall, under the hangings, where I placed " myſelf till the council came, where they were " contriving the manner of trying the king when " he ſhould come before them; and, after the " manner of praying, and private conſults amongſt " themſelves, when their prayer was over, there " came news that the king was landed at Sir Ro- " bert Cotton's ſtairs; at which, Cromwell run " to a window, looking on the king as he came " up the garden, he returned as white as the wall; " returning to the board, he ſpeaks to Bradſhaw " and Sir Henry Mildmay, how they and Sir Wil- " liam Bereton " (ſhould be Brereton)" had con- " cluded on ſuch a buſineſs; then turning to the " board, ſaid thus, " My maſters, he is come, " and now we are doing that great work, that the " whole nation will be full of, therefore I deſire " you to let us reſolve here what anſwer we ſhall " give the king, when he comes before us; for " the firſt queſtion that he will aſk us will be, " by what authority and commiſſion do we try " him? to which none anſwered preſently; then,

" after a little ſpace, Henry Marten, the priſon-
" er at the bar, roſe up, and ſaid, in the name of
" the commons and parliament aſſembled, and
" all the good people of England, which none
" contradicted, ſo all roſe up, and then I ſaw
" every officer, that waited in the room, ſent out
" by Cromwell to call away my lord ſuch a one,
" (whoſe name I have forgot) who was in the
" Court of Wards Chamber, that he ſhould ſend
" away the inſtrument, which came not, and ſo
" they adjourned themſelves to Weſtminſter Hall,
" going into the Court of Wards themſelves as
" they went thither. When they came to the
" Court in Weſtminſter Hall, I heard the king
" aſk them the very ſame queſtion that Cromwell
" had ſaid to them."

" Mr. Solicitor. Gentlemen, the priſoner at
" the bar confeſſes his hand to the warrant for
" executing the king; you ſee, by his ſervant,
" how merry he was at the ſport; you ſee, by his
" witneſs, how ſerious he was at it; and gave the
" foundation of that advice, upon which they all
" proceeded; and now he ſays he did it not trai-
" torouſly; I humbly conceive he means it was
" juſtifiable."

" Sir P. Temple. At another time, I was in
" town, on a Friday, and wanting horſes, I went
" to Smithfield, where I ſaw the horſes of ſtate,
" of his late majeſty, to be ſold in the common
" market, at which, I called to the rider; ſays
" I, what makes theſe horſes here? ſays he, I am
" to ſell them; why, ſays I, there's the king's

" brand upon them, C. R. and he ſhewed them " me; ſaid I, will you ſell theſe horſes? what " price? he aſked me three or four ſcore pounds " a piece; ſays I, who warrants the ſale of theſe " horſes? ſays he, Mr. Marten and Sir William " Brereton. Afterwards I heard the horſes were " taken into the mewes by the priſoner at the bar, " and Sir William Brereton."

" Council. Was this before the trial?"

" Sir P. Temple. It was in 1642 or 1643."

" Council. That's nothing to this buſineſs."

" P. My lord, the commiſſion went in the " name of the commons aſſembled in parlia- " ment, and the good people of England; and " what a matter is it for one of the commiſſion- " ers to ſay, let it be acted by the good people " of England."

" Mr. Solicitor General. You know all good " people did abhor it; I am ſorry to ſee ſo little " repentance."

" P. My lord, I hope that which is urged by " the learned council, will not have that impreſ- " ſion upon the court and jury that it ſeems to " have, that I am ſo obſtinate in a thing ſo ap- " parently ill; my lord, if it were poſſible for " that blood to be in the body again, and every " drop that was ſhed in the late wars, I could " wiſh it with all my heart; but, my lord, I " hope it is lawful to offer in my own defence, " that which, when I did it, I thought I might " do. My lord, there was the houſe of com- " mons, as I underſtood it, (perhaps your lord-

" ſhips think it was not a houſe of commons)
" but then it was the ſupreme authority of Eng-
" land: it was ſo reputed both at home and
" abroad. My lord, I ſuppoſe he that gives obe-
" dience to the authority in being *de facto*, whe-
" ther *de jure*, or no; I think he is of a peace-
" able diſpoſition, and far from a traitor. My
" lord, I think there was a ſtatute made in Henry
" VII.'s time, whereby it was provided, that
" whoſoever was in arms for the king, *de*
" *facto*, he ſhould be indemnified, though that
" king, *de facto*, was not *de jure*: and if ſupreme
" officers, *de facto*, can juſtify a war, (the moſt
" pernicious remedy that was ever adjudged by
" mankind, be the cauſe what it will) I preſume
" the ſupreme authority of England may juſtify
" a judicature, though it be but an authority,
" *de facto*. My lord, if it be ſaid that it is but
" a third eſtate, and a ſmall parcel of that, my
" lord it was all that was extant. I have heard
" lawyers ſay, that if there be commons appur-
" tenant to a tenement, and that tenement all
" burnt down, except a ſmall ſtick, the com-
" mons belong to that one ſmall piece, as it did
" to the tenement, when all ſtanding. My lord,
" I ſhall humbly offer to conſideration, whether
" the king were the king indeed, ſuch a one,
" whoſe peace crowns and dignities were con-
" cerned in public matters. My lord, he was
" not in execution of his offices, he was a pri-
" ſoner. My lord, I will not defer you long,
" neither would I be offenſive; I had then, and

" I have now, a peaceable inclination, a reſo-
" lution to ſubmit to the government that God
" hath ſet over me. I think his majeſty, that
" now is, is king upon the beſt title under hea-
" ven, for he is called in by the repreſentative
" body of England. I ſhall, during my life,
" long or ſhort, pay obedience to him: beſides,
" my lords, I do owe my life to him, if I am ac-
" quitted for this. I do confeſs I did adhere to
" the parliament's army heartily; my life is at
" his mercy; if his grace be pleaſed to grant it,
" I have a double obligation to him."

" Mr. Solicitor General. My lord, this gen-
" tleman, the priſoner at the bar, hath entered
" into a diſcourſe, that I am afraid he muſt have
" an anſwer in parliament for it. He hath owned
" the king, but thinks his beſt title is the ac-
" knowledgment of the people, and he that hath
" that, let him be who he will, hath the beſt ti-
" tle: we have done with our evidence."

" P. I have one word more, my lord; I hum-
" bly deſire that the jury would take notice, that
" though I am accuſed in the name of the king,
" that if I be acquitted, the king is not caſt; it
" doth not concern the king that the priſoner
" be condemned, it concerns him that the pri-
" ſoner be tried; it is as much to his intereſt,
" crown, and dignity, that the innocent be ac-
" quitted, as that the nocent be condemned."

" Mr. Solicitor General. My lord, this puts
" us now upon the reputation of our evidence;

" and you may ſee how neceſſary it is to diſtin-
" guiſh between confidence and innocence; for
" this very perſon that deſires you to have a care
" how you condemn the innocent, he doth ſeem
" to intimate to you, that he is an innocent per-
" ſon at the bar, and yet confeſſes he did ſit upon
" the king, did ſentence him to death, that he
" ſigned the warrant for the execution; and yet
" here ſtands that perſon that deſires you to have
" a care of condemning innocence. What is this
" at the bottom of it, but that my fact is ſuch as
" I dare not call it innocence, but would have
" you to believe it ſuch? Gentlemen of the jury,
" was it your intention the king ſhould be tried
" as this priſoner moved? It will concern you
" to declare, that the people of England do abhor
" his facts and principles: every fact the priſoner
" has confeſſed himſelf, the ſitting in that court,
" which was treaſon; his ſentencing was treaſon;
" ſigning the warrant for execution was the higheſt
" of treaſon. Gentlemen, all that he hath to ſay
" for himſelf is, there was an authority of his
" own making, whereby he becomes innocent;
" but we hope out of his own mouth you will
" find him guilty.

" The lord chief baron, in his charge to the
" jury, obſerved, that Marten hath done that
" which looks forward more than backward. I
" could wiſh with all my heart he had looked
" more backward; that is, to repentance of that
" which is paſt, than obedience to that which is

" to come. It is a trouble to repeat thoſe things " which he ſaid himſelf; and truly I hope, " in charity, he meant better than his words " were.

" The jury brought him in guilty."

He petitioned parliament for mercy, ſaying " he had never obeyed any proclamation before " this, and hoped that he ſhould not be hanged " for taking the king's word now." The grave and ſober members were generally for having him pay his forfeited life; but he had ſo many who had partook of the pleaſures of his conviviality, both within and without the houſe, that he obtained a reprieve from the ſentence of the law.

I have exactly copied the trial of this regicide, becauſe it has been, by a certain party, very much wreſted from its real meaning, by giving his defence in a garbled manner.

After two or three removes, he was confined in Chepſtow Caſtle, in Monmouthſhire; where, in ſpight of all that his family could urge, who viewed his crime in its juſt colours, he would ſometimes break out in great indecencies about it.

Here he remained for twenty years, and died ſuddenly with his food in his mouth, in 1681, and in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age; in ſuch wretched poverty and abjectneſs, both in ſpirits and fortune, that he was glad to receive a cup of

ale from any who would give it him,—if Dr. Echards's account is accurate.

Such was the end of the gay, the licentious, debauched, abandoned, Harry Marten, who could play his jeſts, whilſt ſacrificing his royal maſter to the aggrandizement of a rebellious army.—Such were the laſt ſad days and years of this man, whoſe quickneſs of thought, elegance of manners, vivacity, wit, and charming gaiety, had often faſcinated, not only the convivial board, but the grave, auſtere, ſour, republican chiefs in the houſe of commons, who often choſe him their manager and director. Who, after ſpending a noble paternal inheritance, vaſt ſums gained by plunder, or the laviſh grants of the parliament, was reduced to a lower ſtation than his moſt menial ſervant; and whom, if he had not been ſupported as a criminal, muſt have been as a priſoner for debt.

Such a character is an awful leſſon to the rich and thoughtleſs, to the man of genius, to ſuch who are favoured with peculiar bleſſings of mind and fortune, that they may reſtrain themſelves by checking thoſe propenſities to which both their tempers and the ſpecious temptations of their ſtation allure,—leſt, like Harry Marten, they become monuments of their own ruin, and public objects of ſcorn, contempt, and abhorrence.

What a contraſt is there between Harry Marten and his father; who being left with no more than 40l. a year, raiſed a great eſtate, and commanded

the love and admiration of all; for, as he ſaid, having but little, he was obliged to exert his genius to maintain himſelf; which he ſhould not, he owned, have done had his paternal inheritance been ſo much as 80l. per annum. After ſtudying firſt at Wincheſter, and afterwards at New College, he was prevailed upon by Dr. Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, to take to the civil law rather than divinity: and there by his talents, at once ſolid and brilliant, he roſe to the height of the profeſſion, uniting the offices of judge of the prerogative court for the probate of wills, and of the admiralty for trade; which made King James I. ſay merrily, "he was a mighty monarch by ſea and "land; over the living and the dead." Had his ſon began life as he did, he might have been an ornament, inſtead of a diſgrace, to ſociety. Sir Henry was truſted and honoured by two ſovereigns, and univerſally beloved by all their ſubjects: Harry Marten was the murderer of one of his ſovereigns, and conſequently deteſtable in the eyes of the other; and he was univerſally ſcorned and deſpiſed by all mankind.

I cannot but add to this relation, what Biſhop Burnet ſays of him: One perſon eſcaped, as was "reported, meerly by his vices. Henry Marten, "who had been a moſt violent enemy to monar-"chy, but all that he moved for, was upon Roman "and Greek principles. He never entered into "matters of religion, but on deſign to laugh, both "at them and all morality; for he was both an

" impious and vicious man. And now in his
" impriſonment, he delivered himſelf up to vice
" and blaſphemy. It was ſaid, that this helped
" him to ſo many friends, that upon that very
" account he was ſpared."

The Life of Sir WILLIAM MASHAM, *Bart.*

Sir William Masham, Bart. was deſcended from the ancient family, of Oates, in Yorkſhire, of which he was head. He had the been in the parliaments of King James I. who created him a baronet; and was then a repreſentative of Colcheſter, in Eſſex.

He greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, both in the ſenate and the camp, in the parliament intereſt; and ſuffered ſome ſeverities, it was thought, whilſt a priſoner to the royaliſts, at Colcheſter, which made him join others in ſigning a petition for a treaty. The parliament had a very high opinion of him, as had Fairfax; the latter offered in exchange for him Lord Capel's ſon; the former, Mr. Aſhburnham, the particular favourite of King Charles I.; which latter took effect in Auguſt 1648.

Nothing, however, could prevail upon him to ſit as one of the commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice, erected for the mock trial of his ſovereign; yet he acted conſtantly under the commonwealth, and in the protectorates.

Happily for his family, he was not implicated in this moſt enormous crime; for, by their ſubſequent conduct, they filled many reſpectable offices in the ſtate; and his deſcendant, Sir Samuel Maſham, the fourth baronet, was ennobled by

Queen Anne; but the title of Baron Maſham became extinct in his ſon, and ſucceſſor.

For more particulars of Sir William and his family, I muſt refer my readers to the Memoirs of the Cromwells.

The Life of SIMON MAYNE, *Esq.*

SIMON MAYNE, Esq. was descended of a very ancient family, which became seated at Dinton in the county of Buckingham, in 1606, and were a branch of those of Herts. He was the eldest son and heir of Simon Mayne, of Dinton, Esq. who died July 13, 1617, in the fortieth year of his age, and was buried in the church of Dinton, where a very magnificent monument is erected to his memory. The epitaph speaks highly of his character; it was set up by his widow, Colluberry, daughter of Richard Lovelace of Hurley, in the county of Berks, Esq. She died January 10, 1628-9.

The unhappy subject of these pages inheriting a considerable estate, became a person of importance at so critical a period; and declaring for the parliament, they appointed him one of their committee for Berks; and a vacancy happening in the borough of Aylesbury, in his own county, he was elected; so that he became a member in the ever memorable long parliament.

As a man of no great depth of judgment, and violent passions, he was pleased with the nomination of the army cabal to be one of the king's judges, and he sat in the Painted Chamber on January the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 23d, 24th, 26th, 27th, and 29th; and in Westminster Hall every day, except the 22d; and he signed and sealed the warrant for execution; the arms were obliterated, but he bore argent, on a bend, sable, three dexter hands of the first.

He joined in all the ſubſequent charges, and continued during Oliver's protectorate as one of his committee for Bucks. At the reſtoration, in compliance with the proclamation of the parliament, he ſurrendered himſelf to a ſerjeant at arms; and became abſolutely excepted, and he was tried with ſome others of the regicides at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 16, 1660; at his arraignment he pleaded not guilty; but afterwards, when called up, ſaid,

"Priſoner. When I was laſt here my lord, "that I did ſpeak *not guilty*, was not as to matter "of fact, but my conſcience telling of me that "I had no malice or ill intention to his majeſty, "that was the reaſon. For matter of fact I ſhall "acknowledge what I have done, and lye at his "majeſty's feet for mercy. I am an ignorant "weak man in the law, I will confeſs the fact.

"Council. Did you ſign the warrant for ſummoning that court? and did you ſign the warrant for the execution of the king?"

"P. I did ſit in court."

"Council. Did you ſign the warrant for execution?"

"P. My lord, I knew not of the king's bringing up, I never was in any committee."

"Council. We do not aſk you that; look upon the warrant, and ſee if your hand and ſeal be not to it."

"P. My lord, it is my hand."

"Council. Then, my lord, we have done."

"P. My lord, I acknowledge it is my hand,

" by what importunity it may be known to ſome " here; I was very unwilling to it; I was told, " what fear was there when forty were there be- " fore, and twenty was of the quorum? I was " thereupon drawn in to ſet my hand to it. My " lord, I never plotted nor contrived the buſi- " neſs. There was a gentleman that told me, " if I did offer to ſpeak in the houſe—plucked " me down by the coat, and he told me I ſhould " be ſequeſtered as a delinquent; the (name of " this perſon I ſhall omit) ſaith he, you will " rather loſe your eſtate than take away the king's " life. I leave it to you."

" The jury found him guilty, and ſentence was " paſſed upon him."

His defence was weak, and it demands no conſideration, becauſe it is probably all equally untrue, as one part evidently is ſo; he was upon many committees in the Painted Chamber, unleſs he meant thoſe ſelect and cloſe ones which were held, and where actions can only be judged of by their effects. Some parts of his defence are almoſt unintelligible.

His misfortunes ſoon overwhelmed him; he died in the Tower in the following year, and his body was ſent down to Dinton, and buried with thoſe of his family, April 18, 1661, aged forty-nine years. He married Elizabeth, widow and relict of —— —ton in the county of Eſſex; who ſurvived him many years, and was buried at Dinton, Auguſt 10, 1649*.

* The regicide had a ſiſter named Colluberry, but no brother. Query. Who was John Mayne, buried July 5, 1638?

He left two ſons, Simon and Samuel. Simon Mayne, Eſq. the eldeſt, had a grant, I believe, of part of the family eſtate, from his majeſty King Charles II. he was born in 1644, and reſided at Dinton, where he married Elizabeth, in the regiſter called All. daughter of Chriſtopher Browne of Folthry in Rutlandſhire in 1668. He died in 1725, having had ten children; 1, Chriſtopher, born in 1669, died without iſſue in 1701; 2, Simon, born in 1676, living, and unmarried in 1723; 3, Richard, died leaving no child; 4, Edward, living in 1713; 5, Elizabeth, who died in 1687; 6, Jane married to —— Wilcox of London, by whom he had Jane and Bridget; 7, Bridget, living in 1713, married in 1703 to Charles Maſon of London, Gent. by whom ſhe had Charles, Mary, and Elizabeth; 8, Ann, died without iſſue February 1711-12; 9, Lucy, living in 1713; and 10, unknown. Simon Mayne, baptized in 1719, was probably the ſon of Edward.

Samuel Mayne, the younger ſon of the regicide, was a linen-draper in the city of London.

A branch of this family ſettled at Elmdon in Warwickſhire, but not deſcended from the regicide. Before that ancient church was taken down, I copied all the funeral inſcriptions, which now are hid under the pavement of that very elegant houſe of God. One of the gentlemen who had been a London tradeſman, by the death of an elder brother, came and ſettled in the old manſion; and determining to take part of his

eſtate into his own occupation, went and purchaſed ſtock at the neighbouring fairs, and to ſhew his ſkill took a neighbouring yeoman to ſee his bargains, who going towards the farm-yard was ſurprized to find ſo great a buſtle amongſt the new ſtock; but the wonder ceaſed when he ſaw ſeveral bulls fighting for the maſtery. "How "is this, Sir! why have you got ſo many bulls?" "Many! no, I have not many, I have *only* the "ſame number as I have *cows*." Such was the Londoner's knowledge of rural economy. He is ſtill remembered by the name of the *merry farmer*. James Mayne, Gent. of Elmdon, who died December 28, 1715, aged 60, by Ann, his wife, who died April 28, 1696, left only, coheireſſes, Ann, the eldeſt of them, married Benjamin Baine, Eſq. whoſe eldeſt ſon, Paul Baine, Eſq. was the friend of my youth, and was univerſally reſpected: he ſold this eſtate, comprizing the whole pariſh, with the advowſon, to Abraham Spooner, Eſq. whoſe ſon, Iſaac Spooner, Eſq. has erected on the ſcite of the old houſe, one of the moſt ſuperb ſeats in the county; the late Mr. Spooner was the munificent builder of the church. At a more advanced age I have experienced many kind attentions from the preſent worthy poſſeſſors*.

* I have mentioned this family in Warwickſhire, becauſe by a pedigree drawn up by Mr. Paul Baine, it appeared that the Maines were deſcended by a female from King Edward III.

The Life of Sir HENRY MILDMAY, *Knt.*

Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight, was of a branch of the very ancient and knightly family of Apthorpe in Eſſex, being the ſecond of three ſons of Sir Thomas Mildmay, knighted by Queen Elizabeth, by Frances, only daughter of Henry Ratcliff, Earl of Suſſex, by his ſecond wife, Ann, daughter of Sir Philip Calthorp, Knt. Sir Henry reſided at Mulſho in Eſſex.

Lord Clarendon ſpeaking of Sir Henry ſays, "he was maſter of the king's jewel houſe, who "had been bred up in the court, being younger "brother of a good family in Eſſex, and who "had been proſecuted with ſo great favours and "bounties by King James, and by his majeſty "(King Charles I.) that he was raiſed by them "to a great eſtate, and preferred to that office in "his houſe, which is the beſt under thoſe, which "entitle the officers to be of the privy council. "No man more obſequious to the court than he "whilſt it flouriſhed; a great flatterer of all "perſons in authority, and a ſpie in all places "for them. From the beginning of the parlia-"ment, he concurred with thoſe who were moſt "violent againſt the court, and moſt likely to pre-"vail againſt it, and being thereupon branded "with ingratitude, as that brand commonly "makes men moſt impudent, he continued his "deſperate pace with them, till he became one "of the murderers of his maſter."

This character, ſtrong as it is, we ſhall ſee is not overcharged.

He obtained a ſeat in the long parliament for Malden in Eſſex, and immediately was loud againſt the court, perhaps being refuſed his petition, for being admitted to the barony of Fitzwalter which he claimed, might influence his conduct; and though in this reign, it was thought his claim was not ſufficiently clear, yet it was allowed to his family in the ſubſequent one; the parliament received him with the ſame ſenſations as the Turks do a renegado chriſtian, gave him every public honour, but in their hearts beheld him with contempt and deteſtation.

They appointed him one of the committee for the county of Eſſex. He was not perhaps capable of any great and intricate buſineſs, they therefore made him a kind of maſter of the ceremonies, deputing him to receive the ambaſſadors who came to England, and whoſe maſters diſgraced themſelves with directing them to apply to the parliament inſtead of the ſovereign.

As a wealthy man they pledged him as one of their hoſtages for the payment of the two hundred thouſand pounds, which they were to give to the Scots, for their perfidy in delivering up their ſovereign, who had fled to them for protection. He ſoon however regained his liberty by the parliament's punctuality in paying the money. Not long after he received their thanks for his "good "ſervices" in Hampſhire at the trial of the loyal Captain Bewley, who was condemned of

high treaſon for attempting to liberate his incarcerated ſovereign at Cariſbrook.

Though he and Mr. Lawrence Whitaker had been peculiarly favoured by receiving monopolies, a cuſtom which for ſeveral reigns had been highly injurious to the nation at large; yet theſe gentlemen, becauſe they ſided with the parliament, were not only ſkreened but highly enriched and truſted, whilſt the ſevereſt proſecutions were commenced againſt ſuch, who had been alike guilty of exactions upon the public.

He had the odious office of ſeizing upon the perſons and properties of thoſe whom the parliament, or their maſters the army, were pleaſed to load with the names of delinquents; as alſo to ſecure any moneys collected for the uſe of his majeſty. This was a perſonal inſult to the king, and the party to which he had joined himſelf could not have placed him in a point of view which lowered him more than this. He was alſo appointed of the committee to conſider of the moſt proper means of forming a Weſt-India company, and to regulate the fiſhing upon the coaſts of the Britiſh iſlands; employments, which his habits of life could ill fit him for either the duties of attending, or judging, if he had.

Shame and he had long ſeparated; he rather courted than ſhunned infamy; of all men he ſhould have declined the deteſtable office of ſitting in judgment upon his ſovereign, to glut the ambition, the pride, and avarice of the army; yet, he was very active in the formation of the high

court of juſtice: he ſat in the Painted Chamber January the 8th, 10th, 15th, 23d, 25th, and 26th, and in Weſtminſter Hall on the 23d.

He, and Sir John D'Anvers, were the only perſons that ſat as his judges, whom his majeſty perſonally knew, except ſuch who were officers in the parliament army, and they had both been confidential and highly favoured ſervants; we may therefore give full credit to Lord Clarendon's aſſertion, that "the party of miſcreants," their fellow commiſſioners "looked upon no two men "in the kingdom with that ſcorn and deteſtation "as they did D'Anvers and Mildmay."

Yet they could not do leſs than give him a place in the new government, which he had ſo greatly aſſiſted to erect, at the riſk of every poſſible duty both divine and human. They therefore put his name in the council of ſtate in the years 1649, 1650, and 1651; and when they removed the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Glouceſter from the care of the Counteſs of Leiceſter, they were committed to his, who ſuperintended, or rather guarded them in Cariſbrook Caſtle, which had been one of the priſons of their murdered father, and of which he was become governor.

His inſtructions were, that no perſon ſhould be permitted to kiſs their hands, and that they ſhould not be treated with any other reſpect than what was due to the children of a private gentleman, and which he very exactly obſerved.

The duke's tutor was ſent, with which his royal

highneſs was very well pleaſed; he and all others gave him only the familiar ſtyle of Mr. Harry: here the unhappy princeſs fell a victim to filial piety, or to ſpeak more properly, filial grief, never overcoming the ſhock of the king's cataſtrophe, dying at the age of fifteen, September 8, 1650. She was buried at Newport in the Iſle of Wight; and in November 1793, in digging a grave in the chancel of that church, to depoſit the body of the brother of Lord de la War, her leaden coffin was found. To diſgrace royalty, the republicans meant to put this princeſs apprentice to a button maker, and her brother the Duke of Glouceſter to that of a ſhoe maker!!!

His royal highneſs, who was arrived at his twelfth year, and was a youth of the beſt expectations, and handſome in his perſon, becoming an object of jealouſy to Cromwell, becauſe it had been recommended by many of monarchical principles near him, to place the duke upon the throne, under particular ſtipulations; he therefore informed the queen mother, as well as the duke, that he might withdraw to the continent, and Sir Henry was ordered to pay his tutor, Mr. Lovel, five hundred pounds for the uſe of his royal highneſs; but a ſhip was to be found out of this ſum, and it was to ſail from the Iſle of Wight without his going on ſhore in any other part of England. The prince embarked in the beginning of February 1652-3, attended only by two ſervants, and he landed at Dunkirk, where he

was received by his illuſtrious relations as his exalted rank and misfortunes demanded.

Cromwell, who with ſuch facility dived into the characters of other men, could eaſily fathom Sir Henry's, and I preſume he held none of his *ſubjects* in leſs eſtimation than him; Sir Henry indeed was continued as one of the committee for the county of Eſſex, where ſeveral of his relations were alſo put in the ſame obnoxious employment*. It is however well known that he never was in the protector's confidence, and he obtained but little conſequence in the revolutions which followed; indeed to ſuch contempt was he fallen, that in deriſion, he was generally called Sir Wimſey Mildmay. The reſtored long parliament, named the Rump, were pleaſed indeed to unite him in 1659 with Mr. Whitlock and Sir John Trevor, to attend the French ambaſſador at his introduction; this was however a matter of ſtate, not of confidence.

At the reſtoration, words were wanting to expreſs the public indignation againſt him. The parliament conſidering his extreme wickedneſs, though they would not put him to death, as he had neither ſat the laſt day of the late king's trial, nor ſigned the warrant for execution, yet were determined to inflict an exemplary puniſhment upon him.

* They were, Henry Mildmay of Graces, Eſq. Carew Harvey Mildmay Eſq. and Francis Mildmay, Eſq.

He was brought to the bar of the houſe of commons July 12, 1661, where after confeſſing his crimes, he received this ſentence, that he ſhould be degraded from all titles of honour, dignities and pre-eminences, or to uſe or bear the title of knight, eſquire, or gentleman, or uſe any coat of arms; and he was ordered to be drawn upon a ſledge with a halter about his neck from the Tower of London, to, and under the gallows at Tyburn; and thence conveyed back to the Tower, and there to remain during his life. Which ſentence, as far as it related to his conveyance to Tyburn, was ſolemnly executed on January the 30th in the following year, that day being the anniverſary of the late king's murder.

All the wealth he had been accumulating from the reign of King James I. until then, was totally loſt to him; and this alone muſt, to ſo greedy a man, have been a very heavy affliction. He had the meanneſs to aſk, and the parliament the ſcandal to grant him, a pecuniary ſatisfaction for the place he had loſt of maſter of the jewel houſe, when it was no longer neceſſary, when his royal maſter had not even a jewel to intruſt to any one's care.

The fine ſeat of Wanſtead in Eſſex, which he had built being forfeited with his other eſtates, was granted by his majeſty to the Duke of York. Some of his acquiſitions he purchaſed of the parliament, with their own money as it were; but theſe being part of the royal domains, reverted to

their legal owner, the crown. Some eſtates which were ſettled in jointure, however, deſcended to his poſterity.

This vile character was the exact oppoſite to his younger brother, Anthony Mildmay, Eſq. carver to King Charles I. who in the worſt of times kept his integrity to his God and his prince, remaining ſteady in his religion, and faithful to his ſovereign until the end, attending the unhappy monarch not only in Cariſbrook and Hurſt Caſtles, but aſked, and obtained permiſſion, with Mr., afterwards Sir, Thomas Herbert, Bart. to attend the corpſe of a maſter he was devoted to, from London to Windſor, where it was interred; a merit the greater when to be either orthodox or loyal was unpardonable.

Sir Henry Mildmay, the regicide, married the widow of Alderman Sir Leonard Hollyday*, chiefly by the perſuaſion of King Charles I. who not only knighted, but became an advocate for him to procure this wealthy lady. She was Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Thomas D'Arcy, of Tollſhunt-D'Arcy, in the county of Eſſex, Eſq. He had by her Robert, Henry, Charles, Thomas, Frances, Elizabeth, Mary, and Bridget.

Robert Mildmay, Eſq. the eldeſt ſon, inherited the ſeat of Mulſho, in Eſſex, which had been that of Sir Thomas Mildmay, Bart. eldeſt brother of the regicide, and uncle to this gentle-

* Sir Leonard Hollyday was lord-mayor in the year 1605; he bore two bars, azure in chief, 3 pellets.

man*. He married Mary, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Edmonds, Knt. by whom he had Henry and Benjamin; the former of whom preſented a petition to King Charles II. though then a minor, claiming the title of Baron Fitzwalter, as heir to his great-grandmother, Frances, only daughter of Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Suſſex, and requeſting his majeſty's permiſſion to uſe the ſame; but he dying before any determination was made, and without iſſue, his younger brother, Benjamin, January 19, 1669, purſued the claim, which was ſolemnly argued in the privy council before his majeſty, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, the great officers of ſtate, and ſeveral of the nobility; but it was not ſettled until November 10, 1670, owing to the great oppoſition made by Robert Cheeke, Eſq. ſon of Henry Cheeke, by Frances his wife, one of the ſiſters and heirs of the whole blood to Edward, Earl of Suſſex, who died without iſſue. The principal objections were, that the barony was merged in the earldom, and if not, it was loſt to the Mildmay's, becauſe they were of the half blood; but both objections were over-ruled, for the crown itſelf, as in the inſtance of King Henry the VIIIth's children, goes to the half blood, and though a baron in fee-ſimple be made an earl, the barony deſcends to the heir-

* Sir Thomas Milmay, created a baronet by King James I. June 29, 1611, left no iſſue by either of his wives; they were, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Puckering, lord-keeper of the great ſeal; and Ann, daughter of —— Savile, Eſq.

general, whether the earldom continues or becomes extinct.

On the day juſt mentioned, it was ordered, that "the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament "aſſembled, taking into conſideration this day "the Lord Fitzwalter's claim of precedency in "this houſe, to all the barons now ſitting as ba-"rons, the lord keeper, by command of the "lords, demanded of the Lord Fitzwalter, whe-"ther his lordſhip would conſent to ſit as the laſt "baron of the reign of King Edward I. with a "ſaving of his own right, and alſo ſaving the "right of all other barons; to which the ſaid "Lord Fitzwalter declared his conſent: upon "which conſent given, this houſe did adjudge "that his lordſhip be placed the laſt baron of "the reign of King Edward I. accordingly."

"Then the lord-keeper, by the direction of "this houſe, ſignified to the Lord Fitzwalter, "that his lordſhip ſhould ſit as the laſt baron of "the reign of King Edward I. with a ſaving of "his own right, and ſaving the right of all other "barons; and accordingly the Lord Fitzwalter "took the ſaid place immediately."

This nobleman married Catherine, daughter and coheir of Thomas, Lord Viſcount Fairfax, of the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he left two ſurviving ſons, Charles and Benjamin.

Charles Lord Fitzwalter dying without ſurviving iſſue, was ſucceeded by

Benjamin his brother, who was created by King

George II. Earl Fitzwalter, whoſe only ſon dying in his life time, the earldom became extinct; but the barony of Fitzwalter remains in abeyance, and was claimed by the late Lucy Knightley, of Fauſley, in Northamptonſhire, Eſq. but it was not allowed.

The Life of HENRY MILDMAY, *Esq.*

HENRY MILDMAY, Esq. a member for Devizes, in Wiltshire; he was also appointed one of King Charles the First's judges; but he never either sat as such, or signed the warrant for execution.

I presume he was the second son of Sir Henry Mildmay, whose life has been given. His father, besides what came to the children of this gentleman's elder brother, was enabled by the plunder he obtained during the civil war, and the usurpation, to give him a fortune sufficient to erect a fine seat at Shawford, in the county of Hants, at an expence of ten thousand pounds, and this gift being made before the restoration, it was not then impeachable, or liable to forfeiture.

He married Alice, daughter of Sir Moundiford Branstone, Knight, one of the masters in Chancery.

The Life of GILBERT MILLINGTON, *Esq.*

GILBERT MILLINGTON, Esq. was bred to the bar, and, at the breaking out of the troubles, declared for the parliament interest. Upon a vacancy, he was returned one of the representatives for the county of Nottingham. In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the conservation of the peace between the British kingdoms. He was elected chairman of the committee for plundered ministers, where he has the reputation of exercising his cruelty in a wanton, arbitrary manner, and to have had the meanness to divide the fees with Mr. Phelps, the clerk: he had a grant for some supposed service of one thousand pounds.

He was extremely forward in promoting the king's death, sitting every day, in both the Painted Chamber and in Westminster Hall, except on the 17th, and 18th of January; and he signed the warrant to put the unhappy monarch to death.

Surviving the restoration, he was excepted out of the act of indemnity, both as to life and estate. He had previously surrendered himself in compliance with the order of the parliament, contained in their proclamation, dated Oct. 16, 1660.

He was arraigned as a regicide at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey. Before he was called

upon for his trial, he ſaid, "I do not know whe-
"ther it will be ſeaſonable for me to interpoſe
"now. I would ſpeak a little." But the pri-
ſoners, Mr. Pennington and Mr. Marten, being
before him, he retired until they had appeared.

He ſeemed deſirous of defending himſelf from what he was pleaſed to call *malice*, as many others of them did; for when he was arraigned, he ſaid,

"P. My lord, I am an ancient man, and deaf,
"I humbly crave your lordſhip's pardon to hear
"me a few words; I will promiſe it ſhall be
"pertinent enough."

"Mr. Solicitor General. *Impertinent enough*
"he means."

"Court. You muſt plead either guilty, and
"ſo confeſs it, or not guilty, and then you ſhall
"be heard any thing for your juſtification."

"Clerk. Are you guilty, or not guilty?"

"P. I deſire I may—

"Court. There is nothing you can ſay but
"guilty, or not guilty; all other diſcourſes turn
"upon yourſelf."

"Clerk. Are you guilty, or not guilty?"

"P. You might enlighten me in ſome ſcru-
"ples. Does my pauſe trouble you much? I
"ſhould not be long."

"Court. Your particular caſe cannot differ
"from others."

"Clerk. Are you guilty, or not guilty?"

"P. There are ſome things in the indictment
"that I ſay not guilty to; there are others that I
"muſt deal ingenuouſly, and confeſs them."

" Clerk. Are you guilty in manner and form " as you are indicted? or not guilty?"

" He then ſubmitted to the uſual forms; and " addreſſing the court, ſaid,

" P. I deſire you to hear me; I come not hi- " ther to diſpute, but to acknowledge; I will " not trouble you with long diſcourſes. My lord, " it is not fit for wiſe men to bear them; I am " not able to expreſs them; I will not juſtify " myſelf; I will acknowledge myſelf guilty. " My lord, the reaſon why I ſaid the laſt day, " not guilty, was in reſpect of being upon the " ſcaffold, and murdering the king, and thoſe " times; but I will wave all things, if your lord- " ſhip will give me leave; I will go into the " loweſt ſtrain that poſſibly can be; I will con- " feſs myſelf guilty every way. I was awed by " the preſent power; I was awed by the preſent " power then in being. This I leave with you, " and lay myſelf at your feet, and have no more " at all to ſay, but a few words in a petition " which I deſire you will pleaſe to accept, and " ſo I conclude."

" Council. We do accept this honeſt and hum- " ble confeſſion, and ſhall give no evidence " againſt him to aggravate the matter."

After the jury had found him guilty, being aſked what he had to ſay, " why ſentence ſhould " not be pronounced, he ſpoke thus:

" P. I ſhall not trouble you with long diſ- " courſes; I will ſay no more but this; I have " made a public preſentment of my ſorrow for this

" offence formerly, and many times; I ſhall now " deſire no more, but humbly beg that I may " have the benefit of the proclamation, and pray " his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon."

He was accordingly pardoned as to life, but impriſoned until his death.

His ſeal to the warrant only bears the impreſſion of the numeral figure 3, or I ſhould have been able to have learnt, perhaps, of what family he was, as there are ſeveral reſpectable ones of his ſurname.

After the dreadful crime he had committed, he was alike rejected by the republicans, and by the protectors; he appears, indeed, a man of no abilities; avarice, probably, inſtigated his conduct, more than even his political opinions.

The Life of JOHN MOORE, *Esq.*

JOHN MOORE, Esq. was a colonel of the guards, and who for some time had the benefit of the passes in London.

He sat in the pretended high court of justice, in both the Painted Chamber and in Westminster Hall, every day, the 13th and 19th excepted; but his name is not in the death warrant; on that account, I presume, he was not troubled at the restoration.

Of what family he was, I do not learn; there was one of his name in Shropshire, that greatly distinguished himself on the parliament side*.

* Richard Moore, Esq. was a Member for Bishop's Castle, in Shropshire, in the long parliament; he became a colonel, and received the thanks of the house for his good conduct and bravery, and was the governor, I apprehend, of Ludlow of his name, and who is described of Linley, and was taken up in 1654, for a supposed attempt to depose Cromwell from the protectorate. His brother, Thomas Moore, Esq. came into the parliament upon a vacancy: he was an officer in the custom-house. Colonel William Moore served in Ireland, and in October 1656, embarked with his regiment from Carrickfergus for Jamaica, which the protector had wrested from Spain; his men made some little disturbance when they first embarked, from dislike, probably, to their destination. The ship Saphire, in which he sailed, met with so rude a storm, that it was obliged to put into port again. He so little liked the service, that immediately upon his landing, he was very earnest to return; but Lieutenant-general Brayne told him it was too soon, he having received a good advance, and engaged in his service, and therefore he ought not so speedily to desert it: which threw him into much passion, and he said, God had destroyed the former ge-

nerals for being cruel, and not ſuffering people to go off the iſland; and was this his reward for his many conſiderable ſervices, and for the loſs of his blood in the quarrel? and ſaid, if the lieutenant-general had acted as he had, he ſhould look for the ſame judgment. Brayne replied, he would endeavour to perform his truſt, and ſubmit to the pleaſure of the Almighty. Moore, not ſatisfied, charged all with blood guiltineſs who had any concern in the deſign. Exaſperated beyond meaſure, the other told him, he muſt anſwer it at a court martial, which immediately quieted him. Brayne, however, was ſo diſguſted with his behaviour, that he told Secretary Thurloe, that ſeeing what kind of officers were ſent from Ireland, that if any more troops came from that kingdom, it would be adviſeable to head them with officers from England or Scotland. From this paſſage I ſhould ſuppoſe, that Colonel William Moore was an Iriſhman. There were ſome of them in England, who were as great enemies to regal deſpotiſm, as daring in avowing it, long before the civil war was thought of; for in the year 1626, Mr. Moore, a member of parliament, was committed by the houſe of commons for having ſpoken words reflecting upon the king.

The Life of HERBERT MORLEY, *Esq.*

HERBERT MORLEY, Esq. was of a very antient and respectable family in Sussex, and was a member of parliament for Lewes, in that county, in the two last called by King Charles I., and early distinguished himself as an opposer of the king, entering into the parliament army, where he rose to be a colonel.

In the year 1643, he attacked, and beat back the forces of Lord Hopton, which were marching to obtain the town of Lewes. He soon after went to the assistance of Colonel Norton, who was besieging Basing House, a seat of the Marquis of Winchester, and which held out more than three months, and at length was relieved by the skill and bravery of Colonel Gage; yet he received the thanks of the parliament. In his own county he had, as a committee man, considerable influence.

He joined, however, the army cabal, and consented to their demand, of putting the king to death, and accepted the horrid office of sitting as one of his judges, at the mock trial; but he only attended in the Painted Chamber, and there no more than three days, the 12th, the 15th, and the 18th; nor did he sign the warrant.

He was not a conspicuous figure afterwards, whilst the commonwealth remained, though he was pleased with their sentiments upon govern-

ment; but he was quite a malcontent in Cromwell's protectorate. Major-general Goffe wrote to ſecretary Thurloe, November 5, 1655. "I "intend (if the Lord pleaſe) to give Coll. Morley a kind viſſit this day, his houſe being within "two or three miles. I hope ſuch a civillity, "whatever he thinkes of my buſines, will doe "noe hurt;" and in one, dated November the 7th, he told Thurloe that "Coll. Morley ſaith, "any thing he can aſſiſt mee in, as a juſtice of "peace, he will doe to the utmoſt; but for other "things, he did not underſtand, (or ſomething "to that purpoſe,) which he begann with ſoe "early, as though he had a deſire to prevent me "in propounding any thing ellſe to him, which "I took for a cleere ſatisfaction to my ſelfe, that "he would not act, and therefore laide aſide the "thoughts of putting in his name;" and he declined putting in Mr. Hayes, or Mr. Fagge's, becauſe "the one had not lately acted in any "thing, and the other had been for ſome time "too gratious to diſaffected perſons, and beſides, "would not ſtir an hair's breadth without Colo-"nel Morley." Though it appears that he occaſionally ſent ſome letters of public buſineſs, relative to the ſhipping, to the ſecretary.

But all this good correſpondence was deſtroyed in 1656 by his ſecluſion, with many others, from the houſe of commons, though returned a member of it, a liberty that none of our moſt arbitrary monarchs ever took; yet in that ſituation it was impoſſible to let ſuch ſit, who would not ſubſcribe

to the government then eſtabliſhed, and by whoſe authority it was called. He appears to have united warmly with many of them in ſetting forth a manifeſto againſt this breach of privilege; and which would have deſervedly echoed and re-echoed from ſhore to ſhore, had the late king dared to have made ſuch an attempt: the demanding only five members, was one of the things which had moſt irritated the long parliament againſt their lawful ſovereign.

Fearful, however, of the coming ſtorm, for Oliver was not to be rouſed without the moſt imminent danger, he wrote, October 12, 1656, to Sir John Trevor, to acquaint him, that both he and his brother Fagge would remain peaceably at their own ſeats; and requeſted him to ſay ſo much, if he found them ſuſpected; and he concluded his letter by ſaying, "he could not enlarge at preſent, having bin craſy this five weeks; which is now turned to a terrible fitt of the gout, accompanied with a feaveriſh diſtemper." He lived in ſecluſion until the long parliament was reſtored, and then he was called forth as their champion.

He was appointed one of the council of ſtate, and wrote a prodigious long manifeſto, ſigned by others, addreſſed to General Fleetwood, to tell him that he was ſenſible of the peculiar temptation that beſet him; but preſſed him much to ſacrifice his ambition for the good of that cauſe in which they had all embarked. He was afterwards one of thoſe appointed to govern the army,

ment; but he was quite a malcontent in Cromwell's protectorate. Major-general Goffe wrote to ſecretary Thurloe, November 5, 1655. "I "intend (if the Lord pleaſe) to give Coll. Mor-"ley a kind viſſit this day, his houſe being within "two or three miles. I hope ſuch a civillity, "whatever he thinkes of my buſines, will doe "noe hurt;" and in one, dated November the 7th, he told Thurloe that "Coll. Morley ſaith, "any thing he can aſſiſt mee in, as a juſtice of "peace, he will doe to the utmoſt; but for other "things, he did not underſtand, (or ſomething "to that purpoſe,) which he begann with ſoe "early, as though he had a deſire to prevent me "in propounding any thing ellſe to him, which "I took for a cleere ſatisfaction to my ſelfe, that "he would not act, and therefore laide aſide the "thoughts of putting in his name;" and he declined putting in Mr. Hayes, or Mr. Fagge's, becauſe "the one had not lately acted in any "thing, and the other had been for ſome time "too gratious to diſaffected perſons, and beſides, "would not ſtir an hair's breadth without Colo-"nel Morley." Though it appears that he occaſionally ſent ſome letters of public buſineſs, relative to the ſhipping, to the ſecretary.

But all this good correſpondence was deſtroyed in 1656 by his ſecluſion, with many others, from the houſe of commons, though returned a member of it, a liberty that none of our moſt arbitrary monarchs ever took; yet in that ſituation it was impoſſible to let ſuch ſit, who would not ſubſcribe

to the government then eſtabliſhed, and by whoſe authority it was called. He appears to have united warmly with many of them in ſetting forth a manifeſto againſt this breach of privilege; and which would have deſervedly echoed and re-echoed from ſhore to ſhore, had the late king dared to have made ſuch an attempt: the demanding only five members, was one of the things which had moſt irritated the long parliament againſt their lawful ſovereign.

Fearful, however, of the coming ſtorm, for Oliver was not to be rouſed without the moſt imminent danger, he wrote, October 12, 1656, to Sir John Trevor, to acquaint him, that both he and his brother Fagge would remain peaceably at their own ſeats; and requeſted him to ſay ſo much, if he found them ſuſpected; and he concluded his letter by ſaying, "he could not enlarge at preſent, having bin craſy this five weeks; which is now turned to a terrible fitt of the gout, accompanied with a feaveriſh diſtemper." He lived in ſecluſion until the long parliament was reſtored, and then he was called forth as their champion.

He was appointed one of the council of ſtate, and wrote a prodigious long manifeſto, ſigned by others, addreſſed to General Fleetwood, to tell him that he was ſenſible of the peculiar temptation that beſet him; but preſſed him much to ſacrifice his ambition for the good of that cauſe in which they had all embarked. He was afterwards one of thoſe appointed to govern the army,

when they publiſhed their ſeven articles: "That "there ſhould be no kingſhip: No ſingle perſon "as chief magiſtrate: That an army be con-"tinued: No impoſition upon conſcience: No "houſe of peers: The legiſlative and executive "powers to be in diſtinct hands: and, That par-"liaments ſhould be elected by the people."

He was ſent with Heſelrigge and Walton to ſecure Portſmouth, it being ſeen that Lambert meant to declare for himſelf, expecting the army would proclaim him ſucceſſor to the protectoral honours: and obtaining that important place, they returned to London, and received the thanks of the houſe for their ſervices.

During all this time, he was acting with General Monk, as one of the army commiſſioners; and he was by unanimous conſent approved of to name the officers of the regiments. At this time all was myſtery, none knowing what a day would produce, or in what all the various changes would end; it was a troubled ocean; and every individual's perſon and property was threatened to be ingulphed.

At ſuch a time as this, he had the place of all others that was moſt important, except the general and commander in chief; for he was appointed in January 1659-60, Lieutenant of the Tower; ſo that there can be little doubt but that he had been already won by Monk. Mr. Ludlow alludes to this, when he ſays, that "he was ſufficiently "known to be of a temporizing ſpirit." Towards the end of April, he openly declared his ſatisfac-

sion in what Monk did; and the reſtoration ſoon followed, though the air of myſtery was continued to the laſt hour, for fear of the many unquiet ſpirits breaking out into ſome deſperate wickedneſs againſt the general and ſome of the other great leading characters.

He was received to favour by King Charles II. to whom he ſurrendered the citidal of his capital; and died, after a very unquiet life, in peace, convinced that the ideas he had ſet out with were fallacious and idle; that ideal and real liberty were diſtinct; that a republic is not congenial with the laws of this country; that where there are many nearly equal, there will ever be a conſtant aim to obtain the ſuperiority; and that whenever an army is called in to decide what the laws only ſhould, they will diſregard both ſides, and the general will give laws to each.

His elegant ſeat at Glynde is now poſſeſſed, by deſcent from him, by the family of Trevor, who have aſſumed the ſurname of Hampden. We muſt ſuppoſe him far from amiable, or acting upon principles of generoſity, as he acquired the name of "Plunder-maſter of Surrey."

The Life of WILLIAM *Lord* MONSON.

WILLIAM LORD MONSON, ſhould read Sir William, created Lord Monſon, and Viſcount Caſtlemain, in the kingdom of Ireland. He was the younger ſon of Sir Thomas Monſon, maſter of the armory, and maſter-falconer to King James I. and by that monarch created a baronet in 1611. He was twice tried for being ſuppoſed guilty of aſſiſting in the poiſoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, but both times honourably acquitted. He ſurvived to ſee the ruin of the kingdom by the civil war; and in 1646, he, with Sir Philip Warwick, treated on behalf of Sir Thomas Gemham, governor of Oxford, with Sir Thomas Fairfax, the parliament general. Sir Thomas Monſon married Anne, daughter of Sir Edmond Anderſon, lord chief juſtice of the common pleas.

Lord Caſtlemain, who had been thus diſtinguiſhed by the crown, ought to have exerted himſelf in behalf of his ſovereign, from perſonal gratitude; it was the more extraordinary that he ſhould break out into ſuch open and criminal acts, as not only his father was loyal, but alſo his brave and wiſe uncle, Admiral Sir William Monſon, and, I believe, his elder brother, Sir John Monſon, created by King Charles I. at his coronation, a knight of the bath.

Yet not all theſe very cogent reaſons could influence the depraved heart of this nobleman to

walk in that path which a ſenſe of honour would have imperiouſly dictated: he ſeemed to glory in his own degradation of ſentiment and rank; obtaining a ſeat in the Engliſh houſe of commons, he was foremoſt in all their diſgraceful attempts to debaſe the ſovereign; he accepted the hateful office of being a committee-man for the county of Surrey.

To crown the whole, in 1646, as a member of the houſe of commons, he moved a deſire to wave his privilege, and to have a ſuit againſt him proceed; and from hence aroſe "an ordinance to "take away the privilege, as to title and debts;" the perſon only to be inviolable, and not the lands or goods of ſuch who had ſeats in parliament.

He was as ſedulous to deſtroy, as he ought to have been to defend, the life of his ſovereign; no doubt, requeſting to be named in the commiſſion of the high court of juſtice, as it was impiouſly called; and he ſat in the Painted Chamber on January the 8th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 22d, and 26th; and in Weſtminſter Hall on the 20th, 22d, and 23rd.

After this baſeſt of crimes, he ſunk in the eſtimation of all men, and in none more than in thoſe who had made him the dupe of their ambitious deſigns; for they were ſtriving, by the completion of this villainy, to raiſe themſelves, whilſt he, in the opinion of all men, was ſacrificing his beſt worldly intereſt in doing it; and degrading himſelf in the ſame proportion that they flattered themſelves they ſhould riſe.

From this time to the return of the legal government, he remained without power or conſequence; the republicans deſpiſed him, Cromwell deteſted him, and he was held in abhorrence by the ſuffering royaliſts.

At the reſtoration, though he had not ſigned the warrant to put the late king to death, nor given judgment, yet he was ſo perfectly odious, that the parliament determined to inflict a very exemplary puniſhment upon him; they, therefore, ordered him to the bar of the houſe of commons, and made him acknowledge his crime; and then paſſed this ſentence upon him: that he ſhould be degraded from his titles of honour, not even ranked as a gentleman, nor bear any coat of arms; be ſet upon a ſledge, and drawn with an halter round his neck to, and under, the gallows at Tyburn; and be deprived of all his property, and confined a priſoner in the Tower the remainder of his life.

His degradation was ſolemnly inflicted upon him, on the anniverſary of King Charles' murder, January 30, 1663; and he died, unpitied by all, in the Tower.

I cannot but here give a remarkable inſtance of degradation, from the French hiſtory, which was far more ſevere than what we ſee in our own annals; though we have ſeveral inſtances of ſolemn degradations for treaſon. Captain Fanzel, who had, in a cowardly manner, given up Fontarabia, of which he had been appointed governor by his ſovereign Francis I. was brought before twenty or thirty

cavaliers whoſe reputation was without ſpot or blemiſh; and a king at arms accuſed the priſoner of "treaſon and breach of faith." Two ſcaffolds were erected; upon one were the judges, heralds, and purſuivants; on the other was placed the culprit, armed at all points, with his ſhield reverſed, hanging on a ſtake before him: on one ſide of him were twelve prieſts in ſurplices, who, after ſentence pronounced, ſang the vigils of the dead. At the cloſe of each pſalm, they made a pauſe, during which the officers of arms deprived the guilty delinquent of ſome piece of his armour, beginning with his helmet, and proceeding until they had totally deſpoiled him of all; then they broke his ſhield into three pieces with an hammer. A king at arms next threw a baſon of hot water upon the miſerable wretch's head; and the judges having put on mourning habits, retired from the church. The degraded man was then dragged from the ſcaffold by a rope placed under his arms, laid upon a bier, and covered with mortuary clothes, whilſt the prieſt ſung ſome of the prayers of the dead: and, finally, he was delivered to the civil judge, and the executioner of juſtice.—Fortunately for the Engliſh culprit, he lived in a country more humane.

This degraded nobleman married thrice; firſt, Margaret, daughter of James, Earl of Murray, in Scotland, widow of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham: ſecondly, Frances, ſiſter of Sir Thomas Alſton, of Ode-hill, in Bedfordſhire, Bart.: and his third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir

George Reresby, Bart., widow of Sir Francis Foljamb, Bart., and also of Captain Horner.

He had no issue but by his second marriage, and that was an only son, Alston Monson, Esq., who, perhaps, inherited some estates that had been settled upon his mother; but the fine seat and estate belonging to his father, at Ryegate, in Surrey, went to the crown, and was granted out to the Duke of York. What became of this unfortunate gentleman, who was the principal sufferer for his father's crime, I have not seen. From the elder brother of the degraded peer, Sir John Monson, Bart., descended the Barons Monsons, the Monson-Watsons, and the Sondes.

This wretched man, whose life is here written, is a proof that every body of men, however august and noble, however illustrious and great, will produce some traitors, not only to their sovereigns, but to their own order, to themselves and their posterity; and when it happens, they should be spurned from the rank they disgrace, and levelled with the lowest and basest of mankind; the higher their pre-eminence, the more sensible their fall.

The Life of JAMES NELTHORPE, *Esq.*

JAMES NELTHORPE, Esq. was descended from a family seated at Staplehurst, in Kent, but which afterwards settled in Lincolnshire: he was the sixth, and youngest, son of Edward Nelthorpe, of Glamford Briggs, in that county, Esq., by Magdalen, daughter of Henry Sandwich, of Barton-upon-Humber.

He was named one of the judges of his sovereign; but happily for himself he escaped the snare laid for him, and the punishment that awaited it.

I presume he was in the army; but no one circumstance of his history, I believe, has reached this time, only that he settled at Bartholomew Close, in London, married, and had issue.

His father's elder brother, John Nelthorpe, of Gray's-Inn, Esq., was created a baronet, May 10, 1666; but dying unmarried, was succeeded by Goddard Nelthorpe, Esq., his second nephew, by virtue of an intail in his favour, he being his favourite: and from Sir Goddard, who was the brother of James Nelthorpe, Esq., is descended the present baronet, Sir John Nelthorpe, of Orfeuil, in Lincolnshire.

The Life of ROBERT NICOLAS, *Esq.*

ROBERT NICOLAS, Esq. was a native of Shropshire, I believe, and the same person whom King Charles I. declared a rebel, with Mackworth and Hunt, in 1642: he was one who distinguished himself in all the worst acts of his party; he was employed as council against the impolitic and ill-fated Archbishop Laud.

He was one of the chief instruments in the oppression of the royalists, to satisfy the avarice of the parliament and army; "who," says a contemporary writer, Lord Hollis, "were for violence, "oppression, and ruin, to destroy all that came "before them; sequester estates, impose great "fines, imprison, starve, sometimes take away "life, make men offenders for a word, take all "advantages, wrest and strain up to the height of "all their penal ordinances; and who they were "that had the hand in making all those penal "ordinances, so severe for sequestrations, so high "for compositions, so ensnaring and bloody for "making new treasons, and little things to be "capital crimes; that no man almost was safe, "free from question, and few or none questioned

" but ſure to be deſtroyed. How many miniſters " were pulled out of their livings for very ſmall " faults? How many perſons made delinquents, " their eſtates torn in pieces, themſelves, their " wives and children, turned to beggary, and " ready to ſtarve for no great offences, at leaſt, " that for which they did not deſerve ſo ſevere a " puniſhment? What committees were ſet up? " That of Haberdaſhers' Hall, to pill and poll " men, put them to an oath, as ill as that *ex officio* " to make them diſcover their eſtates, and expoſe " themſelves to their mercileſs carving out a fifth " and twentieth part, which was the undoing of " many, even fetching in ſome of the members " of the houſe to whom they had a diſpleaſure, " and generally all men who had croſſed or op- " poſed them in any thing: that of Goldſmiths' " Hall, to impoſe fines to the ruin of many of the " beſt families of England: that of Sequeſtrations, " where the very intention of the houſes was " perverted, that committee being firſt propoſed, " and made only for great and notorious offen- " ders, but afterwards came to be worſe than any " Spaniſh inquiſition, few eſcaping that were " queſtioned."

Such were the ſentiments of an enemy to the court and national church, and who had aided and aſſiſted in going to a certain length, not ſuppoſing that the tail of a multitude never regard the voice of the heads of it.

No wonder that he calls Serjeant Wild, the chairman, and this lawyer, who was ſo buſy in theſe enormities, "bloodhounds;" yet for theſe ſervices, he was called to the coif in the year 1648.

He had, however, diſcretion enough, as well as decency, not to take his place amongſt the other commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice, who tried and condemned his ſovereign.

In the following June, he was appointed a judge upon the upper bench. At the aſſizes at Sarum, he gave a charge in vindication of the proceedings of parliament, and thoſe under which he acted, and the people's power, and the original of it: and this was probably in conſequence of the plea againſt one of their criminals, who had been indicted for ſaying, "there was no law, and "that a company of rogues had beheaded the "king, and therefore there was no law." The honeſt culprit was found guilty, fined one hundred pounds, and impriſoned without bail, until the fine was paid. Yet it is ſaid, that Lord Chief Juſtice Rolles and he had ſo much ſettled people's minds as to the preſent government, that they were very much commended; but this was a compliment extorted by fear; for the commonwealth was a government which conſtantly wrote its decrees upon adamant, and ſealed them with blood.

Oliver afterwards made him one of the barons of the exchequer; but no doubt from deſpiſing both his principles and his conduct, the reſult of them, laid him aſide: but in 1659, he was reſtored to the upper bench.

The Life of Sir GREGORY NORTON, *Bart.*

Sir Gregory Norton, Bart. reſided in Suſſex, but was originally of Rotherfield, in Hampſhire, Sir Richard Norton, Knt. of that place, having been created a baronet, May 23, 1622, by King James I. He was appointed one of the committee for Hants by the parliament; but, unlike the brave and gallant Colonel Richard Norton, he was known only for this infamous action of being a regicide; and he was ſo anxious to ſhew his zeal in the murder of the king, that he ſat all the days, except on the eighth and twelfth of January in the Painted Chamber; and the twenty-ſecond in Weſtminſter Hall; and cloſed his wickedneſs by ſigning the warrant to deprive his royal maſter of life.

As a reward for this nefarious butchery, he was gratified with Richmond Palace, and much of his majeſty's furniture, at a very inconſiderable price.

At the reſtoration, though he was dead, yet his name was inſerted in the clauſe of the bill of indemnity, excepting his property, and giving it to his majeſty.

He appears to have had his ſlender fidelity overcome with the proſpect of dividing the royal plunder, which the king's enemies ſhared with great rapacity amongſt them.

The Life of JOHN NUTT, *Esq.*

JOHN NUTT, Esq. was a Kentish gentleman, and resided at Canterbury, became a member for that city in the two last parliaments of King Charles I. and was one of the parliament committee for the county of Kent, being a very decided friend to their interest; but he did not go all the lengths his party supposed he would, intirely rejecting all their persuasions to sit in judgment upon the king, or take any part in that prodigious wickedness.

He survived the restoration some years, and resided still at Canterbury; Blome mentions, but does not dignify him with the title of esquire, but the more modest one of gentleman. It appears that he was an alderman of that city, and had borne a captain's commission in the parliament army.

The Life of JOHN OKEY, *Eſq.*

JOHN OKEY, Eſq.'s origin was very obſcure, the only account of him before the civil war broke out is, that he was firſt a dray-man, then a ſtoaker in a brewhouſe at Iſlington, afterwards a poor chandler near Lion Key in Thames-ſtreet, London; but for the truth of this ſtatement I am not anſwerable; probably he had been in a brewhouſe, and then ſet up a chandler's ſhop; but being of an unſettled temper, unſucceſsful and diſcontented, which often go together, he went into the parliament army to better his fortunes.

He was firſt a captain of foot, then of horſe, and afterwards a major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Heſelrigge. When the army was new modelled in 1645, he was made a colonel of a regiment of dragoons, and in the end became colonel of horſe; and from that time took a leading part in the army, being a man of a bold and daring ſpirit, and gifted with much enthuſiaſtic piety, or its ſubſtitute; he was firſt, as moſt of them were, a puritan, and ſlided by degrees from that to be a preſbyterian, then an independant, and finding them out done by the anabaptiſts he went over to their creed; but laſt of all he ſettled himſelf with the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men.

In the year 1647 he was appointed to draw up ſome heads of advice to be preſented to the ge-

neral, with Ireton, Lilburne, Rich, and Harriſon, which was ſo conſonant to the whole army, that only five or ſix officers differed from them in ſentiments; and he continued as one of the council of officers in all their extravagant demands, and at length in the completion of their ſcheme to deſtroy the king, and change the kingdom into a republic.

None were more buſy in the king's murder than this man, who attended at the mock trial all the days, except on the 12th and 13th in the Painted Chamber, and on the 23d in Weſtminſter Hall, and he ſigned and ſealed the fatal warrant.

After this melancholy event he roſe to much higher conſequence, being ſent into Scotland in 1650, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, and he performed great ſervices for his employers the parliament; in 1651 he took Sterling, and attacked a loyal body of troops with ſeveral perſons of high rank, taking ſome and diſperſing others, juſt as they meant to have taken the field for their ſovereign. A jealouſy however ſoon broke out between him and Colonel Alured, when he repreſented his caſe to the parliament.

Cromwell having ſounded him, and finding he was too much attached to a republican ſyſtem to work him to his mind, gave him no encouragement; this heightened Okey's diſguſt, and in conſequence of it he endeavoured to perſuade the officers of his regiment to declare for the commonwealth, in oppoſition to the government of a

ſingle perſon; but in this he was effectually oppoſed by his own major, though he had with difficulty got him that appointment. Cromwell finding it imprudent longer to truſt him with a commiſſion, caſhiered him.

Enraged at his diſgrace, he went over to the fifth monarchy party, and caballed with them; the protector having diſcovered it in July 1656, reſolved to make him ſenſible of his power, but afterwards permitted him to take his own courſe, though he was well watched; but in 1657 the danger became very great, having combined in a plot with Vice-admiral Lawſon, General Lord Grey of Groby, Major-general Harriſon, Colonel Rich, Captains Lyons, Criſpin and Deakins, Venner, the furious fanatic, who after the reſtoration fell a victim to his dangerous reveries, Mr. Squib, Portman, and ſome others, and they had numerous partizans in Ireland to ſecond their attempts; but the vigilance of the protectorial adminiſtration was ſuch, that all his attempts only fell upon himſelf; but in Richard's parliament he was choſen one of the members for the county of Bedford.

At the return of the long parliament he was looked upon as a confeſſor to republicaniſm, and the Wallingford-houſe junto reſtored him his commiſſion, which he endeavoured to uſe ſolely for the benefit of the parliament, and had laid a well-regulated plan to ſeize the Tower; but the lord mayor becoming apprized of it the preceding night, defeated his aim, and he was now

ſo obnoxious to the army and the city, that he was obliged to go to the fleet for protection.

Returning ſoon after, he, in conjunction with Colonel Alured, got ſome troops together, and having muſtered them in Lincoln's Inn Fields declared for the parliament, and marched to the ſpeaker Lenthall's and ſaluted him their *general*; but this was only a feeble flame, before a total extinction.

Finding, what of all things he dreaded moſt, the reſtoration of monarchy, he fled to the continent under the aſſumed name of Frederic Williamſon, and went to Hanau, where he was elected a burgeſs; but he and Barkſtead, going from thence into Holland, were ſeized, and by Sir George Downing, their quondam friend, ſent over, with Mr. Miles Corbet, another of the regicides. His perſon being identified at the King's Bench bar, he received ſentence of death, as he had been abſolutely excepted from pardon in the bill of indemnity. He, with the other two, who like him had not ſurrendered themſelves, were executed April 19, 1662, at Tyburn. Mr. Ludlow ſays, he averred, that "he was ready to "ſuffer for that cauſe which he had ſtrenuouſly "defended, and in the preſence of many wit-"neſſes, that if he had as many lives as he had "hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard "them all on the ſame account." Mr. Echard remarks that "theſe three made better ends than "moſt of the regicides, and particularly ac-"knowledged their reſolved acquieſcence under

" the king's government, as of God, and ex-
" horted others to do the ſame, eſpecially Co-
" lonel Okey, a perſon that for his valour, and
" other good qualities was pitied by all men, for
" having been ſo blindly engaged in his own de-
" ſtruction. They all profeſſed they had no ma-
" lice to his late majeſty, and that they had miſ-
" taken the parliament's authority for good, and
" ſufficient in that unhappy act."

They all underwent the dreadful ſentence, which the law dooms to traitors; it is plain that he had acted with ſome decorum in his unhappy ſituation, becauſe when the quarters of the other ſufferers were ſet upon the city gates, his majeſty beſtowed his body upon his widow, to bury where ſhe pleaſed; and ſhe ordered him to be interred at Stepney, where his firſt wife lay, in a vault he had purchaſed for himſelf and his family; but the people collected in ſuch large companies, eſpecially in Newgate market, purpoſing to attend it to the grave, and as theſe conſiſted chiefly of furious ungovernable fanatics, the city officers, by orders of government, were ſent to diſperſe them. If Mr. Ludlow ſays true, they behaved with decency and modeſty, but the contrary ſeems the fact; however it was a wiſe meaſure in the miniſters to order the body to be quietly buried in the chapel of the Tower, where the burial ſervice of the liturgy was read over it.

Thus miſerably finiſhed the life of Colonel Okey; which if he had taken either the quiet and peaceable line, to which he was originally de-

ſigned, or moderated his zeal, in that which he choſe to follow, he would have been remembered with reſpect by poſterity, and have left a family, who had thought it an honour to have been deſcended from him.

Colonel Okey had a houſe in Hackney, which, with his other property, being forfeited to the crown, was given out again to the Duke of York, who conveyed to the ſorrowing widow, the premiſſes called Barbers Barn or Berns, as it was anciently written; an act of mercy highly to be commended.

I have never ſeen any account of his family, but I preſume the gallant Captain Okey was his ſon.

After the execution of theſe three men, their friends publiſhed an account of their conduct from the time ſentence was paſſed until their deaths, which evinces how far they were gone in a wild fanaticiſm.

The Life of ROBERT OVERTON, *Esq.*

Robert Overton, Esq. distinguished himself in the parliament army, and was early a colonel; he first was called out to observation by opposing the forces the queen brought from the continent, and put under the command of the Earl of Newcastle, which he led against Hull, in hopes of gaining it from Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, where he behaved with much "honour and gallantry;" and after the unhappy end of Sir John Hotham and his son, he was appointed governor of that important place.

He was however too much a military one to gain the esteem of the people there; for in March 1647 they complained of him to the parliament, for imposing upon them free billets for his soldiers, when free quarters was taken off from all the county, and they expressed a hope that they should reap the fruits of peace and settlement, and that they had prayed relief from his excellency the general. The parliament paid little attention to this complaint; on the contrary, they by many ways shewed their regard for him, and settled upon him 300l. per annum.

It is much to his honour that though he was a strenuous advocate for a republic, he rejected the thoughts of sitting in judgment upon the dethroned monarch.

He became so useful, that when the garbled parliament under the control of the army had

eſtabliſhed a new government, he obtained the rank of major-general, and was ſent into Scotland, where he behaved with his accuſtomed bravery, and was appointed governor of Edinburgh. He conducted himſelf with ſo much propriety and firmneſs, that he obliged the gentlemen round Aberdeen to be ſummond, and told them, that three Engliſh ſoldiers had been murdered, and that they muſt diſcover and deliver the culprits to juſtice, unleſs they meant to have the country fined, which they immediately complied with; yet he kindly waited upon Mr. Andrew Cant, a miniſter, to aſſure him of his protection, having undergone ſome affronts from his ſoldiers; by this mean he deſerved univerſal gratitude, becauſe he acted wiſely between both parties, who were very inimical to each other.

Cromwell knew he was too much attached to the republican intereſt to be a good ſubject to him, he therefore, after his return to his government of Hull, took an opportunity of ſending for him to London, as thinking it dangerous to permit him to have the poſſeſſion of a place of ſo much conſequence; whilſt in town he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, expreſſive of his devotion to his highneſs and his government.

This procured him to be ſent into Scotland again; but ſcarce had he got there, but intercepted letters diſcovered that deceit which theſe ſaints, with the names of God and Chriſt conſtantly in their mouths and in their writings, practiced to each other; and evinced

that he was ſecretly carrying on a plot againſt Oliver; being "faithful to the good old intereſt "of Jeſus Chriſt, and his ſaints, ſo as never to apoſ-"tatiſe from it with this back-ſliding genera-"tion;" meaning the fanatical part of the nation.

Cromwell therefore ordered Monk to ſend him and Alured priſoners to London; and he wrote letters in the uſual ſtrain both to the protector and Lord Deſborough, expreſſive of his entire innocence, and calling upon God for the confirmation of his ſhameful falſehood.

We may ſuppoſe his devotion to Oliver by theſe lines:

A protector, what's that? 'Tis a ſtately thing,
That confeſſeth itſelf but the ape of a king:
A tragical Cæſar acted by a clowne,
Or a braſs farthing ſtamp'd with a kind of a crown;
A bubble, that ſhines; a loud cry without woole;
Not Perillus nor Phalaris, but the bull.
The echo of monarchy till it come;
The butt end of a barrel in the ſhape of a drum
A counterfeit piece, that woodenly ſhows
A golden effigies with a copper noſe.
The fantaſtic ſhadow of a ſovereign head,
The arms royal revers'd, and diſloyal inſtead.
In fine, he is one we may protector call,
From whom the King of kings protect us all.

In a very well-known written letter of his to a friend, dated from the Tower, January 17, 1654, the day after his commitment, he gives a vindication of himſelf, that he had not behaved ill, for he had, as he told the protector he would, acted for him until his conſcience would not permit

him, by thinking he was ſeeking more his own than the nation's good; to which the protector had ſaid, that "thou wert a knave if thou "wouldſt;" and that he had not done any act to diſturb the government; but that was untrue: that he had been accuſed of being a leveller, but that he was no otherwiſe ſo than upon the account of Newmarket, and other engagements, for a well-grounded government, redreſs of grievances, civil, eccleſiaſtical or military, and for inflicting condign puniſhment upon capital offenders.

He owned that he had been diſſatisfied in having junior colonels preferred before him, but declared he had done his duty diligently and faithfully for thirteen years. Vindicates himſelf againſt deſerting his governments, that his abſence was by permiſſion of General Deane, from Scotland, and during pleaſure; that he remained in England two years, becauſe his father, dying in the interim, his eſtate was left in a very diſordered and unſettled condition; many debts ſtill, he thought, unpaid to his detriment; owns that the verſes were taken from him at Leith, but declares he never made them, having been given him by a friend, and that they had laid long and forgotten; that the perſon who gave them to him wiſhed my lord the protector well, and who told him his lordſhip had ſeen them, and "I believe," ſays Overton, "laughed at them, as to my know-"ledge, heretofore, he had done at papers and "pamphlets of more perſonal particular import

" or abuſe." This is a curious trait in the protector's character.

The other parts of the letter are in vindication of ſome other things objected againſt him, relative to his conduct to his officers. This is ſo well written, that it is a proof both of his very good abilities, and the advantages he muſt have had in his education; and nothing of that affected religious cant appears in it, but a pious reliance upon God in his priſon; with a hope that he might improve the diſpenſation in the exerciſe of patience, to his glory, and the increaſe of his own comforts.

This letter fell into the ſecretary's hands; but it did not ſatisfy the protector; and the leſs ſo, becauſe Monk ſent a paper, in which it was thought there had been a conſpiracy to ſeize him, and to march into England, in which Overton was to make a conſpicuous figure; and there was now indubitable proofs of letters, diſpatches, &c. from the king; and his relation, Captain Overton, at that time governor of Hull, confeſſed the whole plot.

The general alſo acquainted the protector, that he had been carrying on a correſpondence with the Scots king, of which there had long been ſome ſuſpicions; if ſo, he was not only double, but treble, trying to keep in with Oliver, Charles, and the republicans; a letter of intelligence, dated March 20, 1654-5, from a ſpy about his majeſty, in his poſtſcript, ſays, " If there be any " in the army that have correſpondence with

" Overton, have an eye upon them; for I am moſt " certain, that he and Charles Stuart were agreed " before he was a priſoner; Hull is as likely a place " as any for Charles Stuart to land at. I am ſure " it is to be in Yorkſhire." At that time it is well known it was deſigned for his majeſty to come into his dominions, to attempt gaining his juſt rights.

Mr. Ludlow is extremely hurt at Overton's impriſonment; but it was very deſerved for his ſhameful duplicity: and, leſt he ſhould obtain his liberty by ſoliciting his habeas corpus, the protector removed him to Jerſey, " with the ha- " zard of his life, and to the great prejudice of " his eſtate," ſays the ſame gentleman.

When the long parliament recovered their power, he obtained a diſtinguiſhed influence; and in June 1659, they appointed a committee relative to a grant of 500l. a year out of the Earl of Leven's eſtate; and this is the reaſon why he preferred their intereſt to the royal one, which was no great mark of his penetration; he then had the garriſon of Hull, and it being neceſſary for Monk to get it into his hands, he ſent to deſire him to reſign his truſt; but which he refuſed to ſurrender, until Colonel Alured being diſpatched to him, he reſigned it to Colonel Fairfax, chiefly, however, becauſe he ſaw it impoſſible to retain it; for the cavalier party had increaſed ſo much, that all oppoſition was vain. Soon after, he was deprived of both that important poſt, and of his commiſſion in the army.

Reſolving, however, not to ſink into oblivion without an effort, he endeavoured to gain over to his intereſt all the officers he could, to make a ſtand againſt the government of a ſingle perſon, knowing that having betrayed the royal cauſe to that of the republican, he could not expect favour, if he ſhould obtain mercy; he therefore was warm and ſincere in his proteſtation of faithfulneſs towards a popular government, and doing all in his power to prevent kingly innovation. He reminded General Monk of his former declarations for eſtabliſhing a commonwealth, and expreſſed his fears of running "back to the old "bondage of kingſhip."

This conduct was ſo extremely impolitic, as well as prepoſterous, that it occaſioned his being ſent to the Tower, where he was, I believe, at his ſovereign's return. Untrue as he had been to all the governments, he did not ſuffer any thing more than that contempt which he ſo juſtly merited.

His character was ſenſe without judgment; a conſtant deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf without properly underſtanding what road he ought to take to do it; unſteady in his purſuits, yet more deceitful than either the times, or the ſituations in which he was placed demanded. He would have been a valuable acquiſition to any party, by uſing all his powers in their ſervice; but from his unſteadineſs, he was rather courted and admired than beloved or truſted; and as he had been unfaithful to all, ſo he was unpitied by every intereſt.

There was another perſon of the name of Overton, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the uſurpation; he was Richard Overton, who was a fellow firebrand and ſufferer with Lieutenant-colonel John Lilburne, of factious memory: theſe two men, with Prince and Walwyn, ſet forth their ſcheme of government, which they entitled "The "agreement of the people." A plan of juriſprudence juſt one remove from what would be ſufficient for a nation in the firſt years of its emerging from abſolute barbariſm. The parliament viewed their conduct in its proper light. Impriſoning them ſeparately, and ordering that they ſhould be maintained at their own, and not at the expence of the government.

The Life of PEREGRINE PELHAM, *Esq.*

PEREGRINE PELHAM, Esq. is said to have been a very mean person, but it is certain he was of the illustrious family, which became dukes of Newcastle, and I think descended from Peregrine Pelham, Esq. a son of the gallant Sir William Pelham, who was lord deputy of Ireland, and in so many ways distinguished himself in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and left this his son, in fee, two parts of his manor of Wickham, and its rights, with two parts of his lands lying in Acrehouse, Nettleton, Rothwell, Normanbie, Claxbie, Kelebie, and Croxton, in the county of Lincoln.

The whole family of Pelham were extremely inimical to the court, and united most cordially with the parliament in opposing it; but, except this gentleman, they set bounds, beyond which they would not pass; he, however, unhappily obtaining a seat in the long parliament, went all the criminal lengths of a furious ungovernable set of unreasonable men, who preferred their own interest to that of their sovereign, or the nation.

He was a violent and steady enemy to the suffering monarch, and omitting only one day, January 13th, attending, as one of his pretended judges, either in the Painted Chamber or Westminster Hall, and he signed the warrant for his decapitation.

It is singular so little can be learnt of this man,

who was of fashion and fortune sufficient to demand attention; but, except being named one of the parliament committee for the town and county of Kingston upon Hull, and one of the commissioners for the conservation of the peace between England and Scotland, in 1646, his name never occurs in these busy scenes.

Happily for himself he died prior to the restoration, when his name was inserted in the exceptive clause, by which his estates would be forfeited to the crown.

We may presume he was only a tool in the hands of artful and ambitious men.

The Life of ISAAC PENNINGTON, *Esq.*

Isaac Pennington, Esq. probably was allied to the loyal and virtuous Sir John Pennington, Knt. a gentleman in ordinary of his majesty's privy chamber, governor and Captain of Sandown Castle, in Kent, and Vice Admiral of the royal fleet; who united the most eminent professional abilities with the greatest piety; and who was superceded by the parliament, because they could not confide in him, as no arguments could prevail upon him to abandon the cause of his sovereign. He died in September 1646.

The gentleman here mentioned was of a very different political turn; from the moment the dispute between the king and his parliament commenced, he gave the most decided preference to the latter.

In the month of December, 1640, he attended with some hundreds following him to the house of commons, to present the citizens' petition, which was subscribed by fifteen thousand persons, against the discipline and ceremonies of the national church: this produced the resolution of the house of commons, "that the clergy in a "synod, or convocation, had no power to make "laws, canons, or constitutions, to bind either "laity or clergy, without the parliament. And "that the canons made by the late convocation

" are againſt the fundamental laws of this realm, " the king's prerogative, propriety of the ſub- " ject, the rights of parliament, and to tend to " faction and ſedition. They, therefore, voted, " that a bill ſhould be brought in, to fine thoſe " of the clergy who ſat in the late convocation, " and were actors in making thoſe canons."

What a proſtitution was this of common ſenſe! for a few, very few, years ſhewed, that the ſedition they complained of came from thoſe who were the pretended advocates for keeping exactly to the letter of the laws, civil and eccleſiaſtical, of the kingdom; but being appointed one of the militia, as named by the parliament, and who fell into all the extravagances of the times, he obtained a conſequence in London which was wonderful, the enemies of the court following whitherſoever he led.

The miſguided multitude were entirely the tools of the army, and of their faction in the houſe; but he was ſo well known as the bell-weather of the flock, that when the city petitioned his majeſty, " profeſſing their grief for his diſtruſt " of them, and their loyalty to him," the king told them, " that he had a good opinion of many " of them, and would willingly pardon all, except " this alderman, Ven, Fowk, and Manwaring." It ſhews that the temper of theſe men were well known to the court at this early period; for they all became the immediate inſtruments of the king's deſtruction, as ſitting in judgment upon him, though they conſtantly profeſſed their loyalty

and duty towards his royal perſon, pretending only to oppoſe ſome of the laws which appeared to them to preſs upon the ſubject, eſpecially the good citizens of London.

There was ever a good correſpondence kept up between the army and the diſaffected in the city; by this means he was appointed Lord Mayor of London in 1643; and the lieutenancy of the Tower being taken from Sir Edward Coniers, was given to him.

At this time he ſeemed omnipotent; he was a member of parliament, a militia and committee-man for London, lieutenant of the Tower, and the chief magiſtrate, which was continued to him half a year beyond the legal term of his mayoralty. In 1645 he was obliged to relinquiſh the Tower, in compliance with the ſelf-denying ordinance; and the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Atkyns, and the common council of London, were to elect a proper perſon for that moſt important truſt: afterwards his credit declined; for in 1647 he, with ſeveral others of the common council, were put out of the city militia; but he ſoon recovered his conſequence with the aſcendency of the army.

When the murder of the king was determined, he was fixed upon by the army to act a conſpicuous part in that lamentable tragedy; he was, therefore, appointed one of the commiſſioners of the pretended high court of juſtice; and he had the audacity to ſit in judgment upon his ſovereign, in the Painted Chamber, on the 20th, 22d, 23rd, and 24th days of January; and in Weſtminſter

Hall the three former days, and the 27th, which was the final one, when ſentence was paſſed; but he did not ſign the warrant for the king's death: he who, in 1643, had petitioned againſt making peace with the king, might well aſſiſt in deſtroying him.

When the government was diſſolved by the murder of the ſovereign, he was one of the city magiſtrates who aſſiſted the Lord Mayor, Thomas Andrews, in proclaiming the act for aboliſhing kingly power; and he was made a member of the council of ſtate in the years 1649 and 1650. From this time he became an inſignificant cypher in the kingdom.

At the reſtoration he was abſolutely excepted out of the bill of indemnity; but ſurrendering himſelf, he was tried, with many others of the king's judges, at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 16, 1660, having been arraigned the preceding tenth of that month, when he had pleaded, Not guilty; but being called upon again at this time, he ſaid,

"P. I am unwilling to be troubleſome to "the court. This I ſhall take the boldneſs to "ſay, (which ſhall be nothing but truth) I never "had a hand in plotting, contriving malicious "practices againſt his majeſty, demonſtrated by "my utterly refuſing to ſign the warrant for his "execution, though often ſolicited thereto. I "cannot deny but I ſat amongſt them that day of "the ſentence; but I cannot remember I was "there when the ſentence paſſed. My ſitting

" amongſt them was out of ignorance; I knew " not what I did; therefore I hope you will be- " lieve there was nothing of malice in any thing " I did; I was miſled in it."

" Lord Chief Baron. I cannot hear you," (he not ſpeaking aloud.)

" P. It was ignorance, not malice, that led " me; if I had known what I had done, I would " not have done it: I humbly pray that there " may be a favorable conſtruction made of it; I " humbly leave it with you. I did my duty to " pray for the king, but had no malice to act " willingly againſt him."

The judge, in his charge, mentioned his penitence to the jury, who brought him in guilty; but the king humanely gave him the wretched remainder of his life, which was terminated, December 17, 1661, in the Tower.

Thus ended the life of the once-popular Iſaac Pennington, who, at one time, could have led forth half London at his heels to petition againſt the ſovereign whom he afterwards doomed to the block, but who, now in his laſt days, was deſpiſed and reprobated by all.

His defence was juſt ſuch as one of a lawleſs banditti might be ſuppoſed to make, who, having ſeized a rich traveller, doomed him to death, and whilſt his companions were diſpatching their prey, was employed in prayer for the murdered innocent, whoſe groans were no ſooner over than he returned to his comrades to acknowledge and proclaim the juſtneſs of their villany, and claim

his ſhare of the plunder, as the reward of his acquieſcence in the deed; but when led to juſtice, might pretend a perfect innocence of any criminal intention towards the victim of his hypocritical wickedneſs.

It is incredible what ſums this man obtained during the diſtractions of the nation. The parliament gave him three thouſand pounds, belonging to the loyal Sir John Pennington, who had depoſited it in his hands; and the forfeiture of treble damages was alſo remitted to him, Sir John being, according to their language, a delinquent: and as a farther reward, they gave him three thouſand pounds more, with another afterwards, and reſtored him to the office he had loſt in the city militia.

By theſe, and other means, he was enabled to purchaſe much of the lands of the biſhops; but money infamouſly obtained, was by profligacy ſoon diſſipated; after having twice failed, by his deſerved ruin at the reſtoration his creditors were a third time ſufferers.

Had he been as peaceable as he was factious, as frugal as he was extravagant, as induſtrious as he was otherwiſe, he would have obtained a larger fortune than ever he poſſeſſed from the fruits of his mal-practices: and had he been as loyal as traitorous, he would have lived in honour, and died in peace.

There are two engraved portraits of him; one with a golden chain and a ſword in his hand; a ſmall portrait given in a print, intituled "The

"Committee, or Popery in Maſquerade." In this print are repreſented the ſeveral ſectaries ſeated at a table, before which ſtood the mare and the quaker, and the dog and the elder's maid, &c. large half ſheet, alluding to ſome very indecent circumſtances which were the ſubject of very popular ballads amongſt the loyaliſts.

The other portrait is a wooden cut, prefixed to "a true declaration, and juſt commendation of "the great and incomparable care of the right "honourable Iſaac Pennington, Lord Mayor of "the city of London, in advancing and promoting the bulwarks and fortifications about the "city and ſuburbs, with a vindication of his honour from all malicious aſperſions of malignants; publiſhed and preſented to his honour "by W. S. 1643."

I preſume that the preſent Sir Iſaac Pennington, Knt. M. D. preſident of St. John's College, Cambridge, is deſcended from this gentleman's family, if not from the regicide himſelf.

The Life of Sir GILBERT PICKERING, *Bart.*

Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. ſon of Sir John Pickering, of Titchmarſh, Knt. was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by King James I.; he became a member of the long parliament, and one of their colonels in the army raiſed againſt the king, in which he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

Led by the council of officers, of which he was one, he ſtopped at nothing to advance the intereſt of the army; and he accepted a place in that infamous tribunal which doomed the monarch to die as a culprit; but he only ſat two days, and thoſe were January the 22d and 23rd, in Weſtminſter Hall; and only in the Painted Chamber on the latter; and he did not ſign the warrant.

He was greatly truſted by the commonwealth, ſtill more by the protectors Oliver and Richard, who made him their lord chamberlain of the houſehold, and by the reſtored long parliament; but to all the former ones he was merely true, juſt as his intereſt directed him, deſerting every party the moment when in danger; and he would equally have been treacherous to the laſt, had he foreſeen the return of royalty.

As he had not ſentenced the king to death, nor ſigned the warrant for his majeſty's execution, he eſcaped with his life; but he was excepted in the bill of indemnity to ſuch pains and penalties as a future act of parliament ſhould inflict.

His alliance to the Earl of Sandwich, whoſe ſiſter Elizabeth was his firſt wife, prevented his ruin after the reſtoration: from that lady is deſcended the preſent baronet; by his laſt wife, the daughter of John Pepys, of Cottenham, in Cambridgeſhire, he had no iſſue.

Sir Gilbert died in the year 1668, in little credit with any of the contending parties. See more of him in the Cromwell Memoirs, as one of Oliver's lords.

The Life of VINCENT POTTER, *Esq.*

VINCENT POTTER, Esq. was a very inconsiderable person, of whom I find not any thing memorable, but this enormity of assisting in the king's death, and its consequences. The parliament in May 1647 ordered a sum of money to be paid him, probably having some employment in serving the army, or in some other of the war departments, which was no doubt procured him by his relation Hugh Potter, Esq. a member of the house of commons, and who was, I think, the person of his surname that was a colonel in the army.

This misguided, insignificant man having been named one of the commissioners in the bloody tribunal, sat every day in Westminster Hall, and omitted attending in the Painted Chamber only January the 8th, 12th, 13th, 18th, and 20th; he gave his assent to the sentence, and signed the warrant to put his royal master to a public and ignominious death.

At the restoration he surrendered himself in obedience to the proclamation, and was one of those excepted both as to life and estate; but judgment was not to follow, for the pains and penalties were to be such as should be expressed in a future act of parliament.

He was arraigned at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, October 16, 1660, and pleaded, "not "guilty;" his trial commenced on the 16th

following, at which time, he was ſuffering dreadful agonies from a fit of the ſtone.

He therefore ſaid, " My lord, my condition " requires eaſe for my body, I pray that the paſ- " ſing the ſentence for execution may be ſuſ- " pended."

" Lord Chief Baron. The execution muſt be " ſuſpended, for you are within that qualifica- " tion."

" P. I deſire only this, I am not in a condi- " tion to declare what I know, and would ſpeak; " I am mighty full of pain; if I am under that " qualification, let me reſt under that."

" Council. Do you confeſs the indictment? " or will you put us to the proof of it?"

" P. I am one that came in."

" Lord Chief Baron. It is thus with you, " whether or no did you ſit, ſign, or act, in this " high court of juſtice againſt the king?"

" P. I will deny nothing; I confeſs the fact, " but did not contrive it; I am full of pain."

" Lord Chief Baron. According to the de- " merit of the caſe in law you muſt receive judg- " ment here, but no execution of that judgment " ſhall be until the king, by advice and conſent " of lords and commons, ſhall order the execu- " tion of it; you are to be tried now; do you " confeſs you ſigned the warrant for execution of " the king?"

" P. I do confeſs it, my lord."

" Council. We do accept it."

" P. I beſeech you let me go to eaſe myſelf."

" Lord Chief Baron. Officer ſet a chair for " him; (which was done) Mr. Potter, ſit down."

Some time afterwards addreſſing himſelf to the court, as the jury had brought in a verdict guilty, he ſaid,

" P. I hope I may be freed from irons; I am " in pain, and a man of bulk."

" Lord Chief Baron. We can give no order " in it; we muſt leave it to the ſheriff."

" P. I beg it of you, my lord."

" Lord Chief Baron. We muſt leave it to " the ſheriff."

When aſked what he had to alledge why ſentence ſhould not be awarded againſt him, he ſaid, " My lord, I do not know law, I underſtand it " not; I am not in a condition to ſpeak what I " would have willingly ſpoke; I deſire that God " would have mercy, and I look for mercy from " God," and wept.

He was not executed, but ſpent the wretched remainder of his painful days in a priſon; when his final releaſement was I do not learn.

The Life of THOMAS PRIDE, *Eſq.*

THOMAS PRIDE, Eſq. was a minion of fortune; he was found a deſerted infant in a church porch; was a drayman, a brewer, an officer, at laſt a colonel in the army; he treated the parliament with the moſt inſolent contempt and violence, garbling it, to prepare the Rump, as it was termed, enacting that ordinance by which the high court of juſtice was to be eſtabliſhed for the trial of his ſovereign, and they could do no leſs than appoint him one of the pretended judges; he ſat every day in both the Painted Chamber, and in Weſtminſter Hall, the 19th of January only excepted, and he ſigned and ſealed the warrant.

The king's death left him at liberty to go to the camp, and he followed whitherſoever he was ordered; he was a uſeful man to Cromwell in all his projects, and acted, it is ſaid, alſo as a buffoon to him.

He received knighthood, and had the title of lord conferred upon him; dying juſt before the reſtoration, October 23, 1658, at Nonſuch; he was buried with baronial honours; but after that joyous event, his body was ordered to be dragged from its grave and hung upon the gallows at Tyburn, with his old maſter Cromwell's, and Bradſhaw's; but though that diſgrace attended theirs, his was permitted to remain where it was, owing no doubt to the intereſt of the Duke of

Albermarle, he having married Elizabeth, natural daughter of Thomas Monk, Eſq. his grace's brother; but his eſtates were confiſcated.

Pride was one of thoſe characters that could with the ſame ſang froid have executed his majeſty, or the whole houſe of commons; it was equal to him which, if his ſuperior officers had commanded him. He knew no law but the mandates of the general, nor no other means of obtaining obedience but by the ſword.

I muſt refer to the Cromwell Memoirs for farther particulars of this fortunate adventurer.

The Life of WILLIAM PUREFOY, *Eſq.*

WILLIAM PUREFOY, Eſq. was deſcended of a very ancient family of the county of Lincoln, afterwards ſeated at Edmondſcot in Warwickſhire, and which had its origin in this kingdom with the conqueſt.

He bore great ſway in his native county, repreſenting the town of Warwick in the two laſt parliaments of King Charles I. and poſſeſſing a very conſiderable paternal inheritance, was enabled to make a conſpicuous figure in the houſe of commons, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the moſt decided manner againſt the court.

Great reliance was placed in him, as having ſo conſiderable a ſway in the central part of the kingdom; and he was not only raiſed to the rank of colonel, but made governor of Warwick.

Some miſunderſtanding aroſe between the Earl of Denbigh and him in the year 1643, from which very fatal conſequences were apprehended; but, as they were equally friends to the parliament, they were both ſent for to London by that authority, and reconciled.

In the following year he beat up the quarters of two troops of the Earl of Northampton's regiment, took ſeveral officers and other priſoners, and eighty horſe; ſoon after he aſſiſted Colonel Maſſey at the taking of Weſtbury by aſſault, and went thence to aſſiſt the beſiegers of Banbury.

When the ſelf-denying ordinance came out, he was obliged, as a member of parliament, to give up the government of Warwick, where he was ſaid to have been very oppreſſive, and to have ſignalized a furious, fanatical zeal againſt the harmleſs croſs in that town; and to have thrown down the effigies of the mourners, which were placed round the tombs of ſome of the noble Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, miſtaking them for monks; but it is undoubtedly true that this moſt elegant chapel annexed to the church in Warwick, was kept inviolate; I am fearful he cannot be defended from deſtroying the croſs, not leaving, ſays Dr. Bruno Ryves, one ſtone ſtanding upon another. Croſſes, we know, were every where proſcribed; it was wonderful any remained in the kingdom.

But he who could reſpect the perſon of his ſovereign ſo little, cannot be ſuppoſed to regard leſſer matters, ſuch as venerating either the relicts of the piety of ancient days, the repoſitories of the illuſtrious dead, or the memorials recording their worth.

None was more ſedulous in that dreadful cataſtrophe of the king's murder than Colonel Pureſoy; he omitted attending only on the 13th of January, and he ſigned the deſtructive warrant.

He took a very particular ſhare in the adminiſtration after the republican government was eſtabliſhed, being one of the council of ſtate in the years 1649, 1650, 1651, and of which he became preſident in 1652, as I ſee by an order of

council ſigned by him as ſuch, dated Auguſt 27, 1652, addreſſed to Colonel William Sydenham, governor of the Iſle of Wight.

As attached to the republican intereſt, we ſee little of him during the protectorates more than that he was continued one of the committee for his native county.

But at the renewal of the commonwealth, he again exerted himſelf; and when every part of the kingdom was attempting to ſhake off the oppreſſive load of the long parliament, and to declare for the king, he, though old, and with one foot in the grave, employed ſuch diligence at the time of Sir Charles Booth's riſing, that he kept the city of Coventry, of which he was then governor, and the adjacent country, in the obedience of the parliament.

He ſurvived this but a very little time, dying before the king's return to his dominions, expreſſing, it is ſaid, great penitence, for the part he had acted towards his late majeſty. But this does not ſeem ſo well authenticated as it could be wiſhed.

This gentleman has been denied every merit by the royaliſts: they tell us that his cowardice was ſo notorious, that when he ſhould have fought with the enemy, he hid himſelf in a barley-field, for which act of timidity a waterman at Temple-ſtairs, who had been his ſoldier, refuſed to carry him; but this perhaps is no more true, than that he was a man of a mean and deſperate fortune

before Lord Brooke took him up, and procured him his ſeat in parliament.

It ſhould ſeem that he was an ancient gentleman, of a liberal education, of a good landed eſtate, but greatly diſſaffected both with the religion and government of his country, and that he was the principal mean of inflencing Lord Brooke to the violent extremes he went.

I have not ſeen that he obtained any thing from parliament, but his governments, except voting him 1500l. for arrears, due in 1647, probably for his pay as colonel, owing him for his government, or for ſums he had advanced for the public ſervice.

Query, what relation was he to the gallant major Purefoy, governor of Compton-Houſe, which he ſo bravely defended in 1644? Blome mentions William Purefoy of Caldecote in Warwickſhire, Eſq. There is a family of this name in Berks, which has received the title of baronet; but the titled branch of them is extinct. Dugdale in his Warwickſhire gives ſeveral monuments of the Purefoy's, but does not mention the regicide.

The Life of ROBERT REYNOLDS, *Eſq.*

ROBERT REYNOLDS, Eſq. was a gentleman of Hampſhire, and declaring for the parliament took up arms in their cauſe. He firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſtorming of Bridgewater on July 21, 1646. General Fairfax committed the forlorne hope of horſe to this valiant young man, who, perceiving that after a conſtant and ſucceſſive attack, had been ſo far fortunate as to gain the top of the works, the colours, and, at length, the artillery, that had been ſo dreadfully playing againſt them, inſtantly entered the place, ſcoured the ſtreets, and beat them out of the nearer town into the farther one, notwithſtanding the pikes ſtood gallantly againſt the horſe.

This dangerous exploit having been performed with great ſkill and bravery, he led five hundred priſoners in triumph to the general. The conſequence of his proweſs was the ſurrender of the town on the following day, after a tremendous onſet; but which was accelerated by his having ſo well opened all the part of the town where the attack was made. This was one of the greateſt undertakings during the war; the parliament was ſo pleaſed with it that they ſent the general their thanks, and gave that moſt infamous character Hugh Peters one hundred pounds for bringing them the news of the ſurrender; and it was the

occaſion of our young ſoldier's receiving a colonel's commiſſion.

He was named one of the king's judges, but he had too great a ſenſe of duty to implicate himſelf in a ſovereign's blood; this inſtead of leſſening, raiſed him in the eſtimation of the very perſons who ſolicited him to participate in their crimes.

The levelling principles which had been long growing in the army, at length got to an height that threatened deſtruction to every thing that was valuable: the flame broke out at Banbury in Oxfordſhire in May 1649, and the ſoldiers who promoted it, carried their plan into execution ſo far as to revolt, and attempt to withſtand their general. It was a melancholy and momentous period, and occaſioned univerſal conſternation, for it was perfectly entering upon the principles of liberty and equality, and the rights of man; univerſal deſolation muſt have enſued, had not the moſt vigorous meaſures been uſed; and except the general, no officer ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf in bringing back theſe infatuated men to their due ſubordination as Colonel Reynolds; he gave them the firſt check, and made them demand a parley; he obliged Tomſon their leader to throw himſelf into Banbury; and when they attempted to get into Oxford he turned them; they then got over a bridge to Burford, but could not find protection, and ſoon after their chief, Mr. William Tomſon, who had publiſhed his declaration to the people, and Cornet Dean, expiated their military ſin, by a military death. The city of London

knowing their danger, as all would have ended in a general plunder, received the news of this dangerous commotion being ſuppreſſed with an extaſy of joy; they united with the parliament in keeping a day of thankſgiving; and they did more; for in thoſe gloomy days, they even invited the army to a public dinner. His own officers and ſoldiers gave a public teſtimony of their acquieſcence in that juſt ſubordination that was neceſſary.

Soon after this moſt important ſervice he was ſent into Ireland, to ſubdue the revolters in that kingdom; at this time he was a colonel of horſe; his determined boldneſs made him conſpicuous in his firſt engagement there, for when the Engliſh army attacked the Marquis of Ormond, this gentleman taking his grace's brother priſoner, declared he would piſtol him if he did not ſhew him the marquis, which he then did, at a ſmall diſtance with only ſeven horſe with him; upon this, he, and Captain Otway, ſet off in purſuit, and came ſo near as to ſeize a Frenchman, who was with his lordſhip and the others, who eſcaped only by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes.

In this deciſive action the whole camp, and all its ſplendid furniture, all its various riches, fell into the hands of the victorious Engliſh, the marquis' cabinet of public papers and private writings, many priſoners of quality, beſides ſix lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, four captains, fifty-eight lieutenants, forty-two enſigns, with

many other officers, and two thouſand one hundred common ſoldiers.

I ſhall not follow him in all his military operations in Ireland, but it is ſufficient to mention that he went out almoſt in every action, and always returned with honour; ſo that at length he was placed at the head of the army, in that part of Ireland where he ſerved, with the rank of commiſſary-general, and to reward him ſtill more, the parliament ſettled five hundred pounds a year upon him.

His ſubſequent ſucceſſes were ſuch, that they ſeemed to have no alloy; victory conſtantly following his banners, and he purſued only to ſeize the prey; at length the Iriſh chieftains ſeeing oppoſition in vain, came, and capitulated upon the condition of being allowed to lay down their arms, and be tranſported to Spain, or to any other place then in amity with England; but he excepted out of thoſe, who wiſhed thus to exile themſelves, ſuch as had been guilty of any maſſacre, murder, or robbery, and their prieſts were not to execute their function in the Engliſh quarters. The maſſacre of the Engliſh proteſtants deſerved a ſevere hand, and the commiſſary-general was ſo ready to deviſe, ſo prompt to act, ſo energetic and perſevering in purſuing his projects, and ſo ſevere in his deciſions, when the enemy lay proſtrate at his feet, that he ſeemed deſigned for ſo diſagreeable, dangerous, and odious an employment.

Upon his return to England a very different

ſcene preſented itſelf; the parliament general had, with the title of protector, become the ſovereign; this, if it did not ſurpriſe, did not diſpleaſe him; for ſoon afterwards Oliver gave him, with Colonel Whalley, the appointment of leading three hundred officers to the magnificent entertainment prepared for his highneſs at Grocer's Hall.

It appears that he was a very true and ſteady ſubject to his highneſs, and ſtrove all he could to make his government permanent; but he had been ſo much accuſtomed to military command, and in a country where the people were treated as a conquered nation, that he had no idea of ſubmitting to the law, but to the haſty methods preſcribed by arms; for whilſt ſtationed at Shrewſbury, when there was an inſurrection meditated againſt the protector in favour of the exiled monarch, finding ſome that he had taken up not willing to ſave life by betraying their friends, he recommended them to be put to the torture; a practice, perhaps, he had not been a ſtranger to in the unhappy kindom of Ireland.

As one who loved the profeſſion of arms, he had a very high veneration for Cromwell, the greateſt general and politician in Europe, and this not only his actions evinced, but his language declared; he ſays, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe, dated from Salop, April 9, 1655, as a concluſion: —"Humbly kiſſing his highneſs's hands, and be- "ſeeching the Lord long to continue him a nur- "ſing father to the good people of the three na- "tions under his highneſs's happy government,

"and a terror to all his enemies, I take leave "and remaine"——. This, I am perſuaded, was not the uſual court holy water which is ſo often found in all governments.

The character of Richard was ſo totally unlike that of his father, who wiſhed to keep the military in the back ground, that it is more than probable he was happy in the proſpect of ſeeing the army able to call forth the parliament, whom they hoped would ſanction their deſpotiſm, and, as it were, legalize it; for though he was a member of the long parliament, he viewed himſelf as a very inferior perſon in that ſituation, compared with his rank in the army.

The parliament gave him a place in the council of ſtate, where he often attended with other republican heads of the army, and finding Monk's conduct very problematical, and fearful that the reſtoration ſhould be injurious to his fortunes, he took every method to counteract it: attending the ſpeaker, with Cooper, Weaver, and Berners, to conſult with him, and the ſheriffs what was to be done in this juncture of their affairs, propoſing to call the parliament as ſoon as poſſible, and from thence he went to the Tower to ſecure that, which they effected; but at length convinced that the general had laid his plan with ſuch judgment that it muſt ſecure ſucceſs, he fell into the ſcheme, and timely made peace with offended majeſty.

The reſtoration ſunk him again to the rank of a private gentleman, depriving him of his commiſſion in the army and its emoluments, which,

as commiſſary general, was very conſiderable; it alſo took from him the parliamentary grants of Abingdon Hall, an eſtate of the annual value of five hundred pounds, with the epiſcopal lands he had purchaſed, which reverted again to their legal owners.

Yet he had as little reaſon to be diſſatisfied as any of his brethren in arms, for he had accumulated a very large fortune from a ſmall beginning. He made it appear upon his marriage, that, beſides what I have mentioned, he had 20,000l. ſecured abroad, perhaps in debenture lands in Ireland.

King Charles II. had a value for him as a brave ſubject; he therefore conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

After the buſy ſcenes he had witneſſed in the camp, he ſat himſelf down peaceably at Elvetham, in Hampſhire, for which county, under Oliver, he had been a committee-man, and probably was now a magiſtrate.

The Life of ALEXANDER RIGBY, *Esq.*

ALEXANDER RIGBY, Esq. was descended of a very ancient family, seated at Rigby, in Lancashire, and which had branched out into many different ones in that county.

He was brought up to the law, and obtained a seat in the long parliament for Wigan, in Lancashire; at the breaking out of the civil war, he left his duty at the bar, and in the senate, to follow the camp, and shewed that he could wield the sword as well as guide the pen.

In the year 1643, being then a colonel, he led the Lancashire forces against the royal troops, near Thurland Castle, and though inferior to his opponents, he killed many, took their commander in chief, and four hundred others, prisoners, which gained him great fame, it being so opposite to his own profession; and having the whole management of the battle, it proved he was as able to contrive, as bold to execute the part of a general officer.

He was afterwards ordered by the parliament to join Sir William Waller, and to assist in besieging Latham House, defended by that truly illustrious heroine, the Countess of Derby. In 1646 he was named a commissioner for the conservation of peace between England and Scotland.

Though he shewed himself not averse to arms, when he thought the laws were in danger by the

court, yet he was not to be perſuaded to do that which the higheſt obligation of his profeſſion forbade; he would not take any part in the mock ſolemnity of his majeſty's trial.

Yet he did not object to act under the uſurped authority of the commonwealth; but leaving his government of Boſton, he accepted the office of a baron in the court of exchequer, in June 1649. He was ſuperſeded by the protector Oliver, and never afterwards reſtored to his ſeat on the bench.

The Life of Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS, *Knt.*

Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS, Knt. was ſeated at Neaſdon, in Wilſdon, in the county of Middleſex; he was decidedly in the intereſt of the parliament, having a diſlike to the government in church, and a great objection to the court. I preſume he was in the army.

He was not afraid of laying out his property in eccleſiaſtical eſtates, of which the parliament had deprived their legal owners, the biſhops; but it appears that there were ſome obſtructions to carrying into effect what he had purchaſed, which being repreſented in 1647 to the houſe of commons, they referred it to a committee to remove them.

The junto of the army, in unity with a garbled houſe of commons, fixed upon him for one of the king's judges; but happily for himſelf he declined taking the leaſt concern in a crime of ſo great a magnitude.

He was one of the repreſentatives for Middleſex in that parliament which conferred the title of Protector upon Cromwell, who raiſed him to be one of his lords, where I have ſlightly mentioned him in the Cromwell Memoirs. I am indebted to that great body of evidence, Mr. Lyſon's elegant work, for more particularly identifying him; it is undoubted that Oliver placed a great reliance on him, and had an high idea of

his integrity. His name occurs in that protectorate, as one of the committee for Middleſex.

At the reſtoration he was received to favour; King Charles conferred the title of baronet upon him, November 8, 1661. Some of the eccleſiaſtical property he had parchaſed was in his own pariſh; his loſs was great, in having what he had ſo obtained go back to the church. He was buried in the church of Wilſdon, March 18, 1687, aged fifty years.

He married Eleanor, daughter and heir of Robert Alye, Eſq. He had a numerous family, having Edmond, baptized July 23, 1625; William, June 9, 1628; buried June 14 following; John, May 19, 1631, buried Auguſt 6 following; William, May 4, 1637; another William, June 24, 1638; Thomas, July 6, 1645; Francis, November 29, 1646; Richard, April 9, 1648; Mary, September 27, 1629; married June 27, 1649, to Thomas Harriſon, of South Mimms, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq. one of the committee named by the protector Oliver; Ann, September 21, 1632; married March 15, 1653, to John Nelthorpe, Eſq. who reſided at Wilſdon, and had ſeveral children baptized there*: Jane, April 7, 1634, married February 11, 1651, to Samuel Gibbs, Eſq.; Frances, March 8, 1635-6; Elizabeth, September 22, 1639; and Eleanor, Au-

* Next brother, it is ſuppoſed, of Sir Goddard Nelthorpe, Bart. who is ſaid to have children. I have mentioned James, another brother.

guſt 8, 1641, married November 17, 1664 to Luke Cordwell, Eſq.

Sir William was ſucceeded by his ſon, Sir William Roberts, Bart. who died in 1698; the title is now extinct, though the firſt baronet had ſo many ſons.

The Life of OWEN ROWE, *Esq.*

Owen Rowe, Esq. was a younger brother, descended from Sir Thomas Rowe, Knt. Lord Mayor of London in 1568. He was a native of Kent; but the head of the family resided at Hackney in Middlesex.

This man was sent to London, and put to the trade of a silk mercer; but at the beginning of the unnatural war he turned his mind more to politics than his calling. He went into the parliament army and became a colonel.

This led him to take the army interest, and was the reason why he was put in the commission of the high court of justice, and induced him to take his place amongst those wicked judges. We find him attending every day in Westminster Hall, and he omitted being in the Painted Chamber only four days, January the 8th, 13th, 15th, and 18th, and he both gave judgment and signed and sealed the fatal warrant for execution.

Just preceding this melancholy event, he was scout master-general to Oliver Cromwell, in the north; probably after the termination of the war in England, he returned to London and spent his time in his civil employment, though he retained his command in the army, a thing very usual at that time; perhaps he was the Captain Rowe who in July 1649 brought the Scots' answer to the proposition of a peace between the two kingdoms, and had 100l. given him.

He was intirely a republican, and greatly diſſatisfied at Oliver's getting into the ſaddle, whoſe government he conſtantly oppoſed as far as conſiſted with his own immediate ſafety; and in 1656 it was propoſed by the republican party to bring him into the parliament, called by the protector; yet that great man did not take him out of the commiſſion for London.

At this time he had a country houſe at Hackney; in the regiſter of which pariſh his name frequently occurs, as having ſolemnized marriages, which ceremony was then ordered to be performed by juſtices of the peace.

Upon the reſtoration of the rump parliament, as it was in deriſion termed, he was nominated one of the city militia, as he had formerly been; at this time he was become not only extremely odious, but the people, from the hope of a legal government being reſtored, durſt ſhew it; they openly accuſed him of being a firebrand in the city, and an enemy to her ancient rights; they taxed him with having never accounted for five thouſand pounds, which he had received, as keeper of the magazines and ſtores to purchaſe arms with.

He was excepted out of the bill of indemnity, both as to life and eſtate, though he ſurrendered himſelf in compliance to the order of the parliament. He was arraigned at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey October 10, 1660, and pleaded "not guilty;" but on the 16th when brought up for trial he ſaid,

" P. I have not much to ſay, I never had any " ability; therefore, my lord, it was never my " intent upon my plea, as was ſaid before, to " deny any thing I have done; for I was clearly " convinced that I ought to confeſs it before, and " I do confeſs it againſt myſelf, that I did ſit " there ſeveral times, and to the beſt of my re- " membrance I did ſign and ſeal the warrant for " his execution; and truly my lord, it was never " in my heart to contrive a plot of this nature. " How I came there I do not know; I was very " unfit for ſuch a buſineſs, and I confeſs I did it " ignorantly, not underſtanding the law, ſo was " carried away hidden in the buſineſs, not un- " derſtanding what I did; therefore, my lord, " I humbly intreat this honourable court that " you will conſider of it, and look upon me as " one that out of ignorance did it; and if I had " known of my act, I would rather have been " torn in pieces with a thouſand horſes. When " I heard of the declaration and gracious pardon " of his majeſty, I confeſs I went to the Lord " Mayor's, and laid hold of it, and I thought my " life as ſecure as it is now in my own hands; " but I do wholly caſt myſelf upon the king's " mercy; and I have heard he was a gracious " king, full of lenity and mercy; ſo I hope I " ſhall find it. I was never againſt government; " it is a bleſſed thing that we have it; I hope all " the nations will be happy under it. I ſhall " ſubmit to his majeſty and government; I can " ſay no more; I was not brought up a ſcholar,

" but was a tradeſman, and was merely ignorant " when I went on in this buſineſs ; I do humbly " intreat your lordſhips that you would, as ten- " derly as may be, preſent my caſe to the king, " whom I reſt upon, and leave all to your lord- " ſhips' wiſdom and diſcretion, to do what you " will concerning me."

" Council. We accept his confeſſion, and do " hope he is penitent before God, as well as be- " fore the world."

He, with the other convicted priſoners, Aldermen Pennington and Tichborne, Colonels Marten and Lilburne, with Meſſ. Millington and Smith, finding the place where they ſtood to be cold and unwholeſome, prayed the court they might have leave to be returned to the priſon, until the court ſhould be pleaſed to command their farther attendance, which was granted, and it muſt be confeſſed that theſe men, the moſt criminal that ever were ſummoned to an Engliſh bar, were treated with great humanity, by the very exalted commiſſioners before whom they appeared ; and it forms a ſtriking contraſt in this, as well as in other reſpects, to the ſhocking barbarity ſhewn to the once mighty monarch whom they ſat upon as his judges, and doomed to death, though their own ſovereign, and at a time when a treaty of peace was carrying on to heal the ever to be lamented quarrel that had ariſen between the king and his parliament.

When brought in to be aſked what he had to ſay

why judgment ſhould not be paſſed upon him, he ſaid,

" P. My lord, I have no more to ſay, than I " ſaid before."

The Lord Chief Baron, ſpeaking of him to the jury, ſaid, " Colonel Rowe confeſſeth his igno- " rance and ſorrow, and caſts himſelf upon the " king's mercy, and he thought it a bleſſed thing " that the king was reſtored again, and ſubmitted " wholly to mercy."

Though judgment was paſſed upon him, no execution followed; he was ſent back to the Tower, where he died, ſays Mr. Smith, in his obituary, given in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, December 25, 1661; his end haſtened, no doubt, by grief, and, we may hope, ſorrow for the crime he had committed, which he had lived to ſee become ſo extremely odious to all.

His body was brought down to Hackney, and buried there amongſt his relatives; in the regiſter of that pariſh is this item: " Owen Rowe, Eſq. " was brought from the Tower of London, and " buried in the church the 27th of Decem- " ber 1661."

Had this man minded his trade, and left the weightier matters of law and government to thoſe better qualified for them, he would have paſſed his days in eaſe and quietneſs, obtained by his reſpectable ſituation in the city, ſufficient to enable him to ſpend the remainder of his life in ſerenity and peace, and raiſed another opulent and re-

ſpectable family of Rowe by his prudence and induſtry; but from his turbulence and ſilly ambition, he lived in a conſtant whirlwind of contending paſſions, perſecuting the loyaliſts, or being perſecuted by uſurpers; until his crimes were full, and then dragged ignominiouſly to the bar, and ended his days in priſon, a condemned convict for high treaſon, and all the wealth he had acquired by illegal means, together with what he had obtained by his trade, ſwept away, and loſt to his family for ever.

Samuel and William Rowe, Eſquires, were of the Weſtminſter committee in Oliver's protectorate; they were of the ſame family, as were Sir Thomas Rowe, of Shaklewell, knighted by King Charles II. and Thomas Rowe, of Hornſey, Eſq. both alſo in Middleſex.

From what will be related of the regicide Scot, it is moſt probable that he was a ſon-in-law of his.

The Life of HUMPHRY SALWAY, *Eſq.*

HUMPHRY SALWAY, Eſq. was of a very ancient and reſpectable family of gentry in Worceſterſhire; one of whom in the reign of King Edward IV. had with the great Judge Lyttelton, ſettled a violent controverſy which had ariſen between the city and church of Worceſter, that had long deſtroyed all harmony; and it was done with ſuch impartiality and judgment, that it gave full ſatisfaction to both the contending parties, and by that mean reſtored the peace and quiet of the chief town of their county.

The family were ſeated at Stanford, and allied to the Lyttletons of Pillaton Hall, by Humphrey Salway of that place, Eſq. marrying Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Lyttleton, Knt. who, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, had ſo great a ſway in Staffordſhire.

He obtained a ſeat in the long parliament, and conſtantly going with them in their oppoſition to the king obtained their favour; in 1644 they gave him the place of king's remembrancer in the court of exchequer, worth at that time four hundred pounds a year, which they had taken from the loyal Sir Thomas Fanſhaw.

He was appointed in October 1646 with Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Robert King, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Robert Meredith, a commiſſioner for Ireland; the Marquis of Ormond ſoon

after ſent propoſitions to ſurrender Dublin, and the forts in Ireland; and when it was ſuſpected in March 1647, that the Earl of Inchequin was falling from the parliament, they ordered him, Colonel Jephſon, and Mr. Swinfin, to go commiſſioners to his lordſhip, and they referred it to the committee at Derby-houſe to prepare inſtructions for them.

He was named one of the commiſſioners to try his ſovereign; but he, who I ſuppoſe was brought up to the bar, refuſed having any concern in what was a breach of the higheſt duties of ſociety.

After that ſhock to, or rather diſſolution of, the conſtitution, he continued to ſit in the parliament, and in the year 1651 he was a member of the council of ſtate. He ſurvived the reſtoration; but I have not ſeen any farther account of him, except that he was one of the protector Oliver's committee for Worceſterſhire.

The Life of RICHARD SALWAY, *Esq.*

RICHARD SALWAY, Esq. was probably a younger brother of Humphry, just mentioned, who was put an apprentice to a grocer, and had been, whilst in that capacity, the spokesboy in one of their tumultuous hurries, to the long parliament, which first called him into notice; and, pleased with the idle buzz of a popular cry, set up for a reformer in politics, upon a more extended line than the situation he was then in would authorize; leaving, therefore, his trade, he went into the army, and rose to be a major; to distinguish him from Humphry. This rank in the army always precedes his surname; his facility in public speaking made him much prized by his party, and gave him a consequence he otherwise could never have attained.

The junto of the army procured his name to be inserted in the commission to try the king, but, like his relation, he refused to assist, in what was at once sinful and dangerous.

After that dreadful outrage to society, he had the offer of going into Ireland as one of the commissioners, but he declined the undertaking; chusing to remain in England, and mix with the politics of the day, which was more congenial to his disposition, than to have the administration of the civil affairs of that nation, though he

was joined in the commiſſion with ſuch great names as Cromwell, Ireton, Ludlow, and Jones.

He was become of ſuch importance in the ſtate, that he was called to a conference between the heads of the army and the parliament, in 1653; at one of them, Cromwell and his party were ſtrenuous to ſhew it was impoſſible for the parliament, conſiſting, as they ſaid, of perſons generally intereſted in "the corruptions of the law "and the clergy," to expect a reformation from them; but, to this doctrine, the major ſaid, they ſhould declare what they would have in its room, before they took away the government that then was exiſting.

And after the parliament was diſſolved by violence, he was of ſo much conſequence, that Oliver thought it incumbent on himſelf to apologize for the action he had done to him and Mr. John Carew, the regicide, complaining of "the great "weight of affairs that, by this undertaking, was "fallen upon him;" aſſuring them, that "the "thoughts of the conſequences thereof made him "to tremble, and therefore deſired them to free "him from the temptations that might be laid "before him, and to that end, to go immediately "to the Chief Juſtice St. John, and Mr. Selden, "and ſome others, and endeavour to perſuade "them to draw up ſome inſtrument of govern-"ment, that might put the power out of his "hands."

To which this gentleman replied, "the way, "ſir, to free you from this temptation, is for

" you not to look upon yourſelf to be under it,
" but to reſt perſuaded that the power of the na-
" tion is in the good people of England, as for-
" merly it was."

This ſuitable anſwer was ſo well underſtood, that to prevent accidents, Oliver referred it to another meeting, in which he would call the chief officers of the army, who met at Whitehall, and though the major had not then any command of a military nature, yet he was called to aſſiſt in it, but that moſt artful man had taken his ſteps accordingly, and after a few propoſitions of ſome of the moſt powerful perſons, it was decided that a ſort of convention ſhould be called, to which the general and his officers ſhould reſign up all the authority of the nation; it meeting with no great oppoſition, but from Lambert, who wiſhed only a ſelect number appointed, not more than ten or twelve, and major-general Harriſon, who laid a great ſtreſs upon their being ſeventy, equal to the Sanhedrim of the Jews. The conſequence is too well known to inſiſt upon; they met, and " the ſaints began their rule upon earth," with giving the ſceptre to Oliver, their moſt choſen veſſel.

During the protectorate of Oliver, he was very diſcontented, and it was with difficulty he reſtrained himſelf from flying into open revolt; the old republicans cheriſhed him accordingly, and meant to have got him into the parliament in 1656, but it being known, the protector defeated their aim; but not openly to diſgrace him,

his name was put in the committee for Worceſterſhire.

At the return of the long parliament, he was looked upon as one of the champions of liberty, and his conſequence daily increaſing, they appointed him one of the council of ſtate, at the head of whom was the old parliament general, Lord Fairfax, who, at that time, was of much leſs conſequence than this new man; ſuch is the conſtant fluctuation of all popular governments of every diſorganized ſtate, the feet conſtantly becoming the head, and the revolution that ſucceeds the former, makes the head, the feet to it, and thus like waves, they ſucceed each other, until the regular government makes each take its due place in the ſcale; every thing then falls into its proper gradation, and each acting their legitimate part, makes that beautiful and harmonious whole, which conſtitutes perfection, as far as the frailty of humanity will permit.

He was elected one of the committee of ſafety, which conſiſted of only military men, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Heſelrigge, Lieutenant-generals Fleetwood and Ludlow, and Colonels Sydenham and Jones, who had power to impriſon any, whom they ſuſpected of a deſign to diſturb the public peace, to remove all officers in the army, and to fill up the vacancies as they thought moſt conducive to the general welfare; to theſe was afterwards joined Major-general Lambert, and Colonels Deſborough and Berry, who were not members of parliament. Their authority was

only to remain eight days, but they were, during that time, fully inveſted with all the executive powers.

Soon after the parliament named him one of their members of the council of ſtate, May 13, 1659; but now all verged to a commotion, and every month ſome freſh modifications became neceſſary to prevent the body corporate from an actual ſuſpenſion of its vital powers.

A council was inſtituted in October, partly belonging to the parliament, and partly to the army, of which he was one, who was in a double capacity; but theſe were ſuperceded by a council of officers, who, in nine days, named a new council of ſtate, but which, their maſters, the army, ſoon changed to be the committee of ſafety, in which he alſo ſat, as he did in the committee of nineteen, all of the army, who were to judge of the proper qualification of ſuch as ſhould be thought proper to ſit in the next parliament; to ſuch a low and debaſing ſituation was parliament reduced, by the very men whom they had ſo long maintained at ſuch an enormous expence to the public; and ſuch was the freedom of parliament, which had ſo vehemently cried out againſt the encroachment of its ſovereign, whoſe ruin was the conſequence of it.

A different ſcene preſented itſelf upon General Monk's arrival in London, and reſtoring the ſecluded members to their ſeats in parliament; for after reprobating him and Sir Henry Vane for their late ſcandalous compliances with the army,

they ordered Sir Henry to his ſeat in the country, ſent him to the Tower during their pleaſure, and ſuſpended him from ſitting in parliament, which cloſed his political life, for he was too obnoxious and too dangerous to be ſet at liberty, until General Monk and the new parliament had effected the wiſhes of the nation, by calling back their king.

From this time he became a mere cypher, and was as inſignificant as moſt men, becauſe the army was ſoon after diſbanded, and there was no longer any tenable hold for him any where. Mr. John Maidſtone writes to the Governor of Connecticut, John Winthrop, Eſq. that "he was a "man of great parts," but then thoſe parts could only have made him conſpicuous in the times of tumult and diſorder; in a well-regulated government he would never have attracted much notice, and could not have done much miſchief.

I preſume, after the reſtoration, he was permitted to enjoy the eſtates he had purchaſed with the money he had acquired in the diſtractions he had ſo greatly contributed to excite.

The Life of WILLIAM SAY, *Esq.*

WILLIAM SAY, Esq. was of an ancient and knightly family, and bred to the law, of which he was one of its greateſt diſgraces, having ſubmitted to ſit at that diabolical tribunal, the high court of juſtice, which ſentenced his ſovereign to die, as a malefactor. He attended in the Painted Chamber, January the 10th, 12th, 13th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21ſt, 23rd, 27th, and 29th, and all the four days in Weſtminſter Hall; gave his aſſent to the ſentence, and ſigned and ſealed the warrant for execution.

He came late into the houſe of commons, as one of the members for the borough of Camelford, in Cornwall, but was appointed, during a real, or political, illneſs of the ſpeaker, Mr. Lenthal, to take the chair in the rump parliament, which is th only occurrence I have ſeen worthy recording of him in the buſy ſcene that paſſed before him, except that crime which will ever brand his name, foremoſt, amongſt traitors.

The books of that day call him a lewd lawyer, and a ſtately committee-man of Kent; but I do not find his name as one of them in Kent, either during the commonwealth, or the protectorates of Oliver or Richard. There may, perhaps, be more truth in what is ſaid of his having dealt much in fen lands, but we are not told in what county theſe purchaſes were made.

He was proſcribed at the reſtoration, both as to life and eſtate; but happily for him, he eſcaped to the continent, juſt previous to that event, and joined ſeveral other gentlemen in the ſame ſad predicament, and for the ſame crime; but after the aſſaſſination of the regicide, Mr. L'Iſle, no arguments could prevail upon him to remain where he was, becauſe, ſays he, we are ſo numerous, and ſo publicly known, that the royal family could as eaſily procure our deaths, as they have Mr. L'Iſle's; he therefore determined to retire to ſome place where he could remain incognito.

Going to Amſterdam, he plotted with the Dutch, then at war with the Britiſh monarch, to ſend him over to England, and aſſiſt the republicans with arms, ammunition, money, and ſome troops, and they flattered themſelves that if they could raiſe thirty thouſand men, they ſhould be able to overturn the monarchy a ſecond time, as they were more powerful then, than they had been at the commencement of the civil war; but they did not recollect that the miſchief they had then done, was gradual, and grew out of a variety of circumſtances, that could not, nor probably ever can, happen again; beſides too, the nations had ſeen what was the aim of this party, an aim that they never durſt avow, until juſt before they effected it, by the deſtruction of the ſovereign.

He urged Lieutenant-general Ludlow to leave Lauſanne and come to him; but that officer, more circumſpect, declined it until the Dutch would

diſavow the act of giving up ſome of his fellow regicides, and to promiſe at a more convenient time to puniſh the immediate authors of it.

To theſe objections he received a letter which Mr. Ludlow has publiſhed in part; and as it ſhews the aim and ſentiments of this man at the time he was an exile, I ſhall give it.

" Believe me, Sir, things are ſo well prepared " here to anſwer the good ends we all deſire, that " nothing ſeems to be wanting but hands to ſet " the wheels going. Invitations and encourage- " ments are not only offered, but preſſed upon " you; and there is no ground to fear their re- " treat, of which you ſeem to doubt. The ruin " of the preſent government in England is cer- " tainly intended, and I have cauſe to believe " will be effected; the ſtates being unanimouſly " for this war, and at laſt brought to ſee that " their commonwealth cannot long ſubſiſt, if " monarchy continue in England. Of this they " will ſoon give the cleareſt evidence, as well as " of their reſolution to aſſiſt the commonwealth " intereſt as far as ſhall be deſired, in which they " ſeem to be no leſs zealous, than how to defend " themſelves. As to the uſage our friends met " with in this country, I have examined the par- " ticulars, and find the thing to have paſſed in a " different manner than has been repreſented; " they are able here to give you or any perſon " ſatisfaction, that the matter does not lie ſo foul " upon them as is generally conceived; and " would, if it might be any way conducing to

" the advantage of our affairs, ſet that buſineſs
" in its true light. But this is not thought
" adviſable at preſent by many of our friends,
" who think ſuch a courſe may too much alarm
" the court of England, and put them upon mea-
" ſures of procuring peace at any rate. The
" king of England is never mentioned without
" the utmoſt contempt, and writings every day
" publiſhed to expoſe his perſon and govern-
" ment. You may propoſe what you pleaſe for
" your ſafety, and I dare anſwer it ſhall be
" granted. Only I muſt take leave to tell you
" that the moſt private manner of treating is beſt
" approved by our friends. The offers they
" make here are very great, and yet no promiſe
" exacted from us for their ſecurity. Therefore
" I beg of you to think of ſeeing this place, and
" quitting the quarters where you are, that you
" may be inſtrumental in the ſervice of your
" country at this time. I am certainly informed
" that conſiderable numbers of England, Scot-
" land, and Ireland, ſenſible of their preſent ſer-
" vitude, will appear for us; and ſuch meaſures
" will be taken here for their aſſiſtance, that I
" have great hopes of ſucceſs. Nothing ſeems
" now ſo much wanting, as fixed councils both
" here and in England, and no one can be more
" ſerviceable than yourſelf in this important
" matter; I beſeech you therefore let us have
" your help, for we cannot be without it, and I
" am perſuaded the work will proſper in our
" hands. Make all the expedition you can in

" your journey; for though this be not the con-
" juncture of action, yet I am perſuaded 'tis
" high time to be preparing, and it will be to our
" ſhame if we neglect it."

He wrote another letter filled with the higheſt profeſſions of affection to the cauſe, and ſaid the Dutch would ſend thirty thouſand men, and of theſe, ten thouſand ſhould be landſmen; money was alſo to be advanced, and even horſe, if neceſſary; and the whole fleet was to be commanded to favour the enterprize; but Ludlow rejected all this, not from a love of peace, but becauſe the Dutch had no love for any thing but their own intereſt, eſpecially their trade.

This however ſhews what a monſter Say muſt have been, to wiſh to deluge his country again in blood, to gratify his revenge, and build up again a Babel, the miſeries of which muſt be freſh in his eyes. The Dutch procured a peace, and Say died in obſcurity, no one knows how, or where.

The Life of THOMAS SCOT, *Eſq.*

THOMAS SCOT, Eſq. was, it is ſaid, the ſon of a mean brewer, and himſelf in the ſame buſineſs in Bridewell precinct, but afterwards became an attorney, or ſolicitor, at Ayleſbury; but this does not accord with what Mr. Ludlow ſays of him, that he had been educated in the Univerſity of Cambridge; which is inconſiſtent with his hiſtory as given by all the loyaliſts.

He certainly was a perſon of good property, and had received a very liberal education: the civil war called him forth, and his alliance with Sir Thomas Mauleverer, perhaps, greatly contributed to determine him to go all the lengths of the moſt avowed enemies of majeſty.

Upon a vacancy in the long parliament for the borough of Ayleſbury, he and Mr. Simon Mayne, whoſe life has been given, were returned to repreſent it. He entered into the parliament army as a major, and was made one of their committee for the county of Berks.

In the year 1645, he and Mr. Fountain introduced Colonel Fleetwood into the Houſe of Commons with great triumph, though only elected the preceding day.

When the time came to avow what he wiſhed with impunity, he became a champion for putting the king to death, and ſat in the inhuman and ſcandalous meeting, which, by perverſion

of language, was called the high court of juſtice, ſo conſtantly, that he was abſent only January the 8th and 18th: he aſſiſted in giving judgment, and ſigned and ſealed the warrant for his majeſty's murder.

In the commonwealth he made a very conſpicuous figure, being conſtantly named one of the executive body; for he was appointed in the councils of ſtate in 1649, 1650, and 1651; and during all the time the long parliament continued he was in very great ſway. He and Major Salway brought the parliament the particulars of the victory at Worceſter in 1651.

As his power was leſſened by that revolution that conferred the ſovereignty upon Cromwell, he became extremely diſſatisfied; and it is not improbable that, partial as he was to a republic, he looked upon him as a betrayer of that common cauſe, to eſtabliſh which they had gone ſuch very criminal lengths.

He, however, had ſuch influence, that, diſtaſteful as he was to Oliver, he procured a ſeat in that parliament which gave him the title of Protector, and which he could not prevent. Ayleſbury alſo returned him in the ſecond parliament called by his highneſs; and in 1656, he was choſen for that place, and ſtrove to be for the borough of Wickham, in Suffolk; of which Secretary Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, Major-general of the army in Ireland, ſays, "Tom Scott was not "content with his election of Ayleſbury, but en- "deavoured to be choſen at Wickham, but loſt

" it ther. Colonell Bridges, late major to Okey, " is choſen, who, as your lordſhip knowes, is a " very honeſt, ſober man."

The protector, however, would not let him take his ſeat in parliament, until he had ſigned an engagement not to diſturb, but to ſubmit to his higneſs and his government; but it appears theſe were only latitudes which the republicans gave themſelves; for, as they ſaid, the long parliament was not diſſolved, but by force; it was not legally ſo, and that meeting in this convention was not owning it a parliament.

Upon the deſtruction of the Cromwellian intereſt, he roſe to a greater conſequence than ever he had poſſeſſed, being regarded as one of the firmeſt pillars of the republic. In November 1659, he was appointed one of the council of ſtate, and alſo, in the ſubſequent one, where he conſtantly attended, giving out and ſealing commiſſions for raiſing of forces; and they appointed him ſecretary of ſtate, and cuſtos rotulorum of the city of Weſtminſter.

He, and Luke Robinſon, Eſq. were ordered by the parliament to meet General Monk upon his return from Scotland towards the capital, to congratulate his good ſucceſs, and his repairing towards London; and alſo to acquaint him that the parliament would provide money to pay his army, and they accompanied the general to town.

When General Monk had diſpoſed of all the forces by ſea and land, which he judged neceſſary, he procured of the long parliament to de-

clare their own diſſolution, previous to which, Mr. Crew, one of the members, moved, that before they ſeparated, they ſhould bear their witneſs againſt the horrid murder of the king; this was unexpected, at leaſt to thoſe who were implicated in the crime; but after one of the members had proteſted that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, he roſe in his place, and replied, "Though I know not where to hide my head at "this time, yet I dare not refuſe to own, that not "only my hand, but my heart alſo was in it;" and after defending the horrid deed ſome time, he concluded, "I deſire no greater honour in this "world, than that the following inſcription may "be engraven on my tomb: *Here lieth one who "had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles "Stuart, late King of England;*" and then left the houſe, followed by all thoſe attached to his principles. This was an act which every ſober, diſpaſſionate perſon muſt diſapprove, and called down a vengeance upon his head, that he might naturally have ſuppoſed would fall upon it, for his raſhneſs.

Finding it in vain to attempt to ſtem the torrent of loyalty that every where ſhewed itſelf, he retired into the country, as well to ſecure himſelf from being ſeized by the laſt-formed council of ſtate, as was deſigned, as to obtain a ſeat in the new parliament, which he effected; but it was of no kind of ſervice to him; for in all the debates who ſhould be excepted out of the act of indemnity, he was never omitted by any.

Finding his danger inevitable if he ſtayed in England, he got on board a veſſel to eſcape to the continent; but he was taken by pirates, if Ludlow does not mean loyaliſts by that name, a term uſual with all the republicans; and ſuppoſing him, if that was the caſe, a ſuſpected rebel, though they could not identify his perſon, after "plundering him," they ſet him on ſhore in Hampſhire.

His friends, however, procured him another veſſel to convey him to Flanders, where the moment he landed, he was ſeized by an agent for the king; but Don Alonzo de Cardenas, governor of the Netherlands, who had received ſome civilities from Mr. Scot, whilſt he was ambaſſador from his Catholic majeſty to the commonwealth, with true Caſtillian honour, ſet him at liberty. But he went to the Engliſh agent, and ſurrendered himſelf, that he might be entitled to the benefit of the act of indemnity, as Mr. Ludlow ſays, and within the time limited by law; but as this was never inſiſted upon by him at his trial, I ſuſpect the truth of it; perhaps he did ſurrender himſelf to the agent, when he ſaw all reaſonable hope loſt of eſcaping the juſt vengeance of that monarch whoſe royal father it was his conſtant boaſt he had murdered.

He was brought over to England, and tried at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 12, 1660; when arraigned, he ſaid,

"Priſoner. I deſire that thoſe men who have "been of the former jury may not be named.

" I know my liberty of excepting againſt any " number.

" Lord chief baron. Mr. Scot, that which you " deſire, is a thing not right; the offence with " one is not the ſame with others; I ſpeak not but " that the court will do you all right; the court " will grant it if you will wave your challenges; " but if you mean thoſe that have been by others " challenged, it is againſt law.

P. I am willing to bring myſelf upon my trial, " and I will take the ordinary way of excepting " and challenging.

" When the uſual rules were gone through*, " and he indicted as Thomas Scot, late of Weſt- " minſter, in the county of Middleſex, gentle- " man, and the ſolicitor had delivered to the " court the indictment, ſtating, that he had ſat " at the late king's trial, and given ſentence, and " ſigned the warrant for his majeſty's death, and " ſpoken of his hard and impenitent heart in de- " ſiring the action he had committed might be " inſerted upon his tomb, and the witneſſes " ſworn,

" The Council ſaid, Mr. Maſterſon, be pleaſed " to tell my lords and the jury, if you have ſeen " the priſoner at the bar preſent at the high " court of juſtice, as they call it, for the trial of " the late king, for ſome days; that is to ſay, " either upon the 22d or 23d day of January 1648,

* I ſhall not mention at what time the witneſſes were ſworn; it is ſufficient to remark that all of them were.

" but particularly upon the 27th day of that " month, in the ſaid year, when the ſentence of " death was pronounced againſt his late majeſty."

" Mr. Maſterſon. I ſaw the priſoner at the " bar preſent."

" Council. As one of the judges do you " mean ?"

" Mr. M. As one of the king's judges ſitting " upon the bench."

" P. Do you know whereabouts I ſat ?"

" Mr. M. I cannot ſatisfy you in that ; but " I ſaw you ſitting upon one of the benches."

" Council. Mr. Clark, you know the queſ- " tion, pray anſwer what you know touching it."

" Mr. Clark. My lords, and you gentlemen " of the jury, I was preſent in the year 1648, " when his late majeſty ſtood a priſoner at the " bar in that which they called the high court of " juſtice, and among perſons there preſent in that " buſineſs, I obſerved Mr. Scot, the priſoner at " the bar, to ſit as one of the king's judges, and " particularly upon the 23d and 27th days of " January in the ſaid year, upon which laſt day " the court pronounced judgment upon the late " king."

" Council. Did he ſtand up as aſſenting to the " ſentence?"

" Mr. C. They all ſtood up to my apprehen- " ſion; I know not particularly whether the pri- " ſoner at the bar did."

" Council. Mr. Kirke, tell my lords and the

" jury, your knowledge in this buſineſs touching " the priſoner at the bar."

" Mr. Kirke. I was preſent at the trial of his " late majeſty ſeveral days; among the reſt of " the perſons that ſat in the court as judges, I " ſaw the priſoner at the bar, and particularly " upon the day of the ſentence, the 27th of " January 1648, the court ſtood up unanimouſly " as aſſenting."

" Council. Shew him the warrant for execu- " tion."

" Mr. K. This is his hand."

" Council. Have you ſeen his hand often?"

" Mr. K. Yes, Sir, and I am well acquainted " with it."

" Council. Shew Mr. Harrington the war- " rant; do you know that to be Mr. Scot's hand " writing?"

" Mr. H. I did not ſee him write it, but I do " verily believe it to be his. I have often ſeen " his hand writing."

" Council. Mr. Nutley, do you know Mr. " Scot's hand writing? is that Mr. Scot's writ- " ing? (the warrant ſhewn him.)

" Mr. N. I do verily believe it is."

" Council. Have you been acquainted with " the writing of his name?"

" Mr. N. I have ſeen him write his name, " and do verily believe it to be his hand."

" Council. Clerk, read the warrant. He " read it accordingly."

" Council. That which remains of our evi-

" dence is to prove his boaſting of this villany;
" we ſhall deſire you to hear Sir Theophilus
" Biddolph. Pray tell my lords and the jury,
" what you have heard the priſoner ſay touching
" this buſineſs of putting the king to death."

" Sir T. B. I did hear him confeſs that he
" did ſit as one of the judges of the late king,
" and that he was ſo far from repenting of the
" act, that he did deſire when he died that a tomb
" ſtone might be laid over him with this inſcrip-
" tion, *Here lies* THOMAS SCOT, *who adjudged to*
" *death the late king*."

" Council. Where did he ſay this ?"

" Sir T. B. In the parliament houſe."

" Council. Pray, Mr. Copley, tell my lords
" what you know of this buſineſs."

" Colonel Copley. My lord, I was one of the
" ſecluded members; when we were called to ſit
" in the houſe again, the priſoner at the bar, Mr.
" Thomas Scot, (I think it was the laſt day we
" ſat,) there being ſome ſpeaking of the horrid-
" neſs of the fact, he made a long harrangue
" about that horrid act; and he ſaid, he hoped
" he ſhould never repent of it, and deſired that
" when he died it might be written upon his
" tomb ſtone, *Here lies* THOMAS SCOT, *who ad-*
" *judged to death the late king*."

" Council. We have done with our evi-
" dence."

" Court. Sir Theophilus Biddolph, when was
" it you heard him ſpeak thoſe words ?"

" Sir T. B. To my beſt rememberance it was

" in Richard's parliament; it was about January " or February was twelve months."

" Council. Were you not a member for the " city of London in that parliament?"

" Sir T. B. Yes."

" Council. Mr. Copley, when was it you " heard it?"

" Mr. C. It was in April laſt."

" Mr. Solicitor General. It was a ſettled " perſuaſion of his heart, and he thought it fit to " be gloried in."

" Council. Pray, my lord, (ſpeaking to Sir " Richard Brown, Bart. the lord mayor elect, " another witneſs) tell my lords what you know " concerning the priſoner at the bar."

" Lord Mayor elect. My lords, I was one of " thoſe ſecluded members that were returned " again a little before the coming in of his ma- " jeſty. Upon the laſt day of our ſitting, Mr. Scot " ſeeing the houſe muſt break, ſaid their heads " muſt be laid to the block, if there were a new " parliament; for, ſaid you, (looking on Mr. " Scot,) I had a hand in putting the king to " death; and I deſire all the world may take no- " tice of it, and I deſire when I die it may be " written on my tomb, I do not repent of any " thing I have done; if it were to do, I would " do it again."

" Mr. Solicitor General. Do it again! he fol- " lows his blows home."

" Council. Mr. Lenthall, pray be pleaſed to " tell my lords and the jury, what you do re-

" member of any diſcourſe of Mr. Thomas Scot,
" (the priſoner at the bar) tending to the glory-
" ing in this act, or any thing in juſtification of
" that act."

" William Lenthall, Eſq. ſpeaker of the long
" parliament. My lords, the laſt day it was, the
" laſt inſtant of time, we were reſolving of
" breaking the houſe, there was ſome oppoſition
" in it, not very much; the general conſent of
" the houſe was to diſolve it; I muſt confeſs at
" that time I did hear Mr. Scot much juſtify
" that act of the death of the king, (which truly
" I was much offended at,) I confeſs to you
" upon my oath, touching his ſpeech of the in-
" ſcription upon his tomb, I did not hear that;
" juſtifying the death of the king he made a long
" harangue about, and he ſat at the upper end of
" the gallery; but theſe words " of having it
" written upon his tomb, and to have all the
" world take notice of it," I do not remember."

" Council. My lords, my lord mayor elect
" omitted ſomething, pray let him ſpeak to it."

" My L. M. elect. My lords, the concluſion
" of his ſpeech ended thus, " ſeeing it is your
" pleaſure to have it ſo," (the houſe diſſolved)
" I know not how to hinder it; but when that is
" done, I know not where to hide this hated head
" of mine."

" Council. We deſire to hear what the pri-
" ſoner will ſay for himſelf."

" Priſoner. I have no certainty from the wit-

" neſſes that I was there, but in a wandering way,
" they know not where I ſat nor my poſture."

" Council. We do not call this witneſs (Mr.
" Baker) as material; for we muſt inſiſt upon it
" quite through, that after twelve years time it is
" not poſſible a witneſs ſhould remember where
" every particular perſon ſat. Pray hear this
" witneſs."

" Mr. B. I do perfectly remember that Mr.
" Scot ſat two rows above Mr. Bradſhaw on his
" left hand, in that which they called the high
" court of juſtice."

" P. As to the warrant you ſpeak of, I know
" not what it ſignifies, I deſire to know what the
" nature of it is."

" Council. The warrant has been read, it is
" not produced againſt him as a record, for then
" it needed not be proved; but it is produced
" againſt him an an evidence in writing under
" his own hand, that he was conſenting to the
" death of the king."

" P. They may very much miſtake my hand;
" you ſpeak of words that I ſhould utter in par-
" liament; I do humbly inſiſt upon it that I am
" not to anſwer, nor they alledge, any thing of
" that nature: it is a high breach of privilege."

" Council. There is no privilege of parlia-
" ment for treaſon; firſt, ſome of the words
" were ſpoken in Richard's parliament, and that
" you do not own to be a parliament; then ano-
" ther thing (a known rule in law) there is no
" privilege in parliament for treaſon."

" P. I have heard the rule, but do not ſo well " underſtand it, of that ſpoken in Richard's par- " liament; it will be a nice thing for me to diſ- " tinguiſh between that and another parliament; " but this I think, that convention of the peo- " ple ought to have the privilege of parliament " as well as any other. I humbly conceive it " was teſtimony ought not to be given to you; " whatever I ſay in parliament, the privilege ex- " tends to no more than this, that I may be law- " fully ſecured till the parliament hath been ac- " quainted with it, but not finally concluded till " the parliament has heard it."

" Lord Chief Baron. You are indicted for " compaſſing and imagining the death of the " king; I would have you underſtand, that in " caſe a man ſhould commit an act of treaſon, be " it in what place ſoever, there is no place of " ſanctuary for treaſon; in caſe of felony, if a " man be indicted for felony in the parliament " houſe, during the time of parliament, this is " not to be tried in parliament, but according to " the rule of common law; ſo in caſe of treaſon, " the houſe of commons in parliament doth not " try treaſons. That diſtinction which you make " is nothing."

" P. I humbly conceive there is ſuch a pri- " vilege, that no man ſhall ever be called to ac- " count for any thing ſpoken in parliament, if he " be not called to account by the houſe before " any other member be ſuffered to ſpeak."

" Lord Chief Baron. That is, the houſe will

" not determine; but that doth not extend to " your caſe, you are not charged here criminally " for ſpeaking thoſe words that have been teſ- " tified againſt you; but for compaſſing and " imagining the king's death, of which there are " other evidences, and this but an evidence to " prove that."

" P. My lord, I never did ſay theſe words " with that aggravation which is put upon them; " I have a great deal of hard meaſure; as to ſay " I hope I ſhall never repent, I take God to wit- " neſs I have often, becauſe it was well ſpoken of " by ſome, and ill by others; I have by prayers " and tears often ſought the Lord, that if there " were iniquity in it, he would ſhew it me; I do " affirm I did not ſay ſo."

" Mr. Baker. My lord, I omitted ſomething, " which was this; I had occaſion to ſpeak with " Mr. Scot, whilſt Richard's parliament was ſit- " ting, and among other diſcourſe inſiſting upon " ſome things that Richard had done, ſaith he, " I have cut off one tyrant's head, and I hope to " cut off another."

" P. My lord, this is but a ſingle witneſs."

" Mr. Solicitor General. I ſuppoſe he meant " Richard, for he was a tyrant."

" Lord Chief Baron. Speak on, Mr. Scot, " whatever you have to ſay."

" P. If that be laid aſide as an impertinency, " I have the leſs to ſay."

" Lord Chief Baron. The next thing you have

" to do is, to anſwer to the fact, whether you did " it or not.

" P. I ſay this, whatever I did, be it more or " leſs, I did it by the command and authority of a " parliamentary power; I did ſit as one of the " judges of the king, and that doth juſtify me " whatever the nature of the fact was.

" Lord Chief Baron. We have had theſe things " alledged before us again and again; the court " are clealy ſatisfied in themſelves that this act " could not be done by any parliamentary power " whatſoever. I muſt tell you what hath been de- " livered, that there is no power on earth that " hath any coercive power over the king; nei- " ther ſingle perſons nor a community, neither " the people collectively nor repreſentatively. In " the next place, that which you offer to be done " as by authority of parliament, it was done by a " few members of the houſe of commons; there " were but 46 there at that time, and of theſe 46, " not above 26 that voted it; at that time the " houſe of lords was ſitting, who had rejected it, " and without them there was no parliament; " there was a force upon the parliament; there " was excluded ſeven parts of eight. Sup- " poſing you were a full houſe of commons be- " fore this time, and that, without exception, " there was not authority enough, and it is known " to you (no man better) that there never was a " houſe of commons before this time; that this " foul act was made for erecting that high court " of juſtice (as you called it) that aſſumed the au-

" thority of making a law, you cannot pretend to " act by authority of parliament: and becauſe " you would excuſe it, you did it by autho- " rity of parliament, whether it were good or no. " If any man do that which is unlawful by an un- " lawful authority, the aſſuming to do it by that " authority is an aggravation, not an extenuation " of the fact: it was over-ruled. I think my " lords will tell you, that they do not allow that " authority at all, either to be for juſtification or " plea.

" P. My lords, I humbly pray leave to ſay, " that, without offence to the court, (every per- " ſon whereof I honour) this court hath not cog- " nizance to declare whether it were a parliament " or no.

" Lord Chief Baron. That was objected to; " and we muſt acquaint you, that firſt of all it is " no derogation to parliament, that what is a ſta- " tute, or not a ſtatute, ſhould be adjudged by " the common laws. We have often brought it " into queſtion, whether ſuch and ſuch a thing " was an act of parliament or not; any man may " pretend to an authority of parliament. If forty " men were to meet at Shooter's Hill, as the lit- " tle convention did at Weſtminſter, and ſay we " do declare ourſelves a parliament of England; " becauſe they do ſo, ſhall not this be judged, " what is a ſtatute, and what not? It is every " day's practice, we do judge upon it, the fact is " ſo known to every body, they did aſſume to " themſelves a royal authority; it hath been over- " ruled already; it hath been the miſtake of many;

" the vulgar acceptation of the word parliament.
" A parliament conſiſts of the king, lords, and
" commons, alone, and ſo it is not by authority
" of parliament; it is not, unleſs it be by that
" authority which makes up the parliament; you
" cannot give one inſtance that ever the houſe of
" commons did aſſume the king's authority.

" P. I can many, where there was nothing but
" a houſe of commons.

" Court. When was that?

" P. In the Saxons' time.

" Court. You ſay it was in the Saxons' time;
" you do not come to any time within 600 years;
" you ſpeak of thoſe times wherein things were
" obſcure.

" P. I know not but that it might be as law-
" ful for them to make laws as this late parlia-
" ment, being called by the Keepers of the Li-
" berties of England. My lords, I have no ſe-
" ditious deſign, but to ſubmit to the providence
" of God.

" Court. This is notorious to every man;
" this we have already heard and over-ruled.

" L. Finch. That that I hope is this; that
" Mr. Scot will contradict that which he hath
" ſaid before; that is, that he hopes he ſhould
" not repent; I hope he doth deſire to repent.
" Mr. Scot, for this we muſt over-rule it, as we
" have done before; there is nothing at all to be
" pleaded to the juriſdiction, and this point hath
" been determined before.

" P. The parliament, in former times, con-

" ſiſted not ſo much of king, lords, and com-
" mons, but king and parliament. In the be-
" ginning of the parliament, in 1641, the bi-
" ſhops were one of the three eſtates; if it be not
" proper to be called a parliament, a legiſlative
" power, though it be not a parliament, it is bind-
" ing. If two eſtates may take away the third;
" if the ſecond do not continue to execute their
" truſt, he that is the occupancy may have a
" title to the whole, a legiſlative power to juſtify
" me.

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scot, what you
" ſpeak concerning the lords ſpiritual, is nothing
" to your caſe, be it either one way or other; it
" was done by an act of parliament, with conſent
" of the king, lords, and commons; though you
" will bring it down to make theſe commons
" have a legiſlative power, I told you it was over-
" ruled before. We have ſuffered you to expa-
" tiate into that which was a thing not intended
" by many of my lords, that you ſhould have any
" ſuch powers to expatiate into that which is no-
" thing but indeed to make a new government,
" which is the higheſt treaſon, next to the mur-
" dering of the king, in the world: to ſubvert
" the laws, and to make a few of the commons,
" nay, if they had been the whole, to make them
" have the legiſlative power. Mr. Scot, if you
" have any thing in extenuation of the fact, we
" ſhall hear you; further we cannot.

" L. Finch. If you ſpeak to this purpoſe
" again, for my part I will profeſs myſelf I dare

" not hear farther of it; it is ſo poiſonous, blaſ-
" phemous a doctrine, contrary to the laws, if
" you go upon this point, I ſhall (and I hope my
" Lords will be of that opinion too) deſire the
" jury may be directed.

" P. I thought, my Lord, you would rather
" be my council; it is not my ſingle opinion, I
" am not alone in this caſe, therefore I think I
" may juſtify myſelf in it; it was the judgment
" of many of the ſecluded members to own us to
" be a parliament.

" Lord Anneſley. What you ſaid laſt doth
" occaſion my riſing; you ſeem to deliver my
" opinion, who you know could never agree to what
" you have alledged; truly I have been heartily
" ſorry to hear the defence you have made to-day,
" becauſe you know I have had letters from you of
" another nature; I was very confident to have
" heard you an humble penitent this day, inſtead
" of juſtifying yourſelf. As to that which you
" ſay of the ſecluded members owning you to be
" a parliament, they were ſo far from it, that
" you know for how many years they lay under
" ſufferings and obſcurity, becauſe they could not
" acknowledge that an authority which was not
" ſo. You cannot forget the declaration of both
" houſes that was publiſhed upon a jealouſy that
" the people had, they would change the govern-
" ment of king, lords, and commons; it was
" far from their thoughts; it was called in that
" declaration, 'a black ſcandal caſt upon them:'
" this declaration you know was by order of both

" houſes affixed in all churches of England, that
" people might take notice what they held to be
" the fundamental government of this kingdom,
" king, lords, and commons: after this, for you
" to ſet up another government, and under them
" to act ſuch things that one would think ſhould
" hardly enter into the heart of any man. You
" know very well all along they declared them-
" ſelves faithful ſubjects to the king, and ſo
" would have lived and died; and you might
" have had your ſhare of the happineſs of that
" peace, if you could have had an inclination to
" ſubmit to that which both houſes had reſolved,
" when you and others could not bring your
" hearts to ſtoop to your fellow-ſubjects; when
" you could not ſubmit to that equal rule to take
" your ſhare with them. When pride carried
" ſome ſo high, then was the beginning of your
" fall and others; and none could expect other
" than what is now come to paſs, that they ſhould
" come to that ſhame and ſorrow that this day
" hath brought upon you: I could have wiſhed
" to have heard nothing but an humble confeſ-
" ſion of the fault that hath been clearly proved,
" and no juſtification of it: you have ſworn,
" among others, to preſerve the laws and people
" of the kingdom; but you drove away not only
" the houſe of lords, but moſt of the commons;
" and then to give the name of a parliament to
" the remainder, this is a great aggravation of
" your treaſon. I think we of the ſecluded mem-
" bers could not have diſcharged our duty to God

" and the kingdom, if we had not then appeared
" in parliament to have diſſolved that parlia-
" ment, and ſo by our joint aſſent, put an end to
" all your pretences, which, if we had not done,
" we had not ſo ſoon come to our happineſs, nor
" you to your miſeries.

" Lord Chief Baron. The Court hath told you
" before their opinion in the thing, and no farther
" debate is to be allowed in this, the juſtification
" of it doth comprehend treaſon; we ourſelves
" are not by law to allow the hearing of it; if
" you have nothing to ſay for yourſelf, I muſt
" give direction to the jury.

" P. I humbly crave leave, to move the jury,
" that they bethink themſelves, and conſider of
" it rather as a ſpecial verdict, than of a defini-
" tive one; I think there is cauſe of a ſpecial
" verdict.

" Court. If there was need of a ſpecial verdict
" (we are upon our oaths,) I ſhould give direc-
" tions to the jury; what we do, we do upon
" our oaths, and muſt anſwer it before God
" Almighty. The court hath delivered their
" opinions before in this caſe, the pretended au-
" thority under which you did derive that power
" which you did execute; that it is no authority,
" it is void in law, it is a foundation, (if it were
" true) of ſubverting all laws, and, indeed, of all
" religion; a power that you aſſumed to your-
" ſelves of judging and condemning your king;
" that you would countenance ſuch an authority,
" is a great aggravation of the fault. They are

" judges whether you did imagine or compaſs " the king's death, that is all the jurors have to " do. Gentlemen of the jury.

" P. I would know what particular law I have " tranſgreſſed in this thing.

" Court. The law of God and man. Twenty- " fifth of Edw. III.

" P. I humbly conceive that reaches not to " this caſe.

" Court. To ſatisfie you in that, the very " words of the ſtatute are, if any man do com- " paſs or imagine the king's death it is treaſon. " The indictment is, that you did imagine and " compaſs the death of the king. If the fact be " proved againſt you, you are within the ſtatute.

" P. You will not ſay the king ſhall be a tray- " tor if he ſhall compaſs the death of the queen.

" Court. The queen is a ſubject.

" P. I am not yet convinced.

" Lord Chief Baron. Gentlemen of the jury.

" P. I do plead and claim that I am within " the compaſs of ſeveral pardons, and deſire " council in that particular; I do come within " the compaſs of his majeſty's pardon.

" Lord Chief Baron. If you had not gone on " to matter of juſtification, you might have been " more heard to this of pardon; but after a juſ- " tification, then to come for a pardon, which " implies a confeſſion of guilt, they are contradic- " tory; I muſt tell you, we are now upon point " of law; that proclamation I doubt not but " his majeſty will unavoidably make good; but

" we are not to judge of that; it is nothing to a " legal proceeding. You are now in a court of " law; the king's pardon, in law, muſt be under " his broad ſeal. How far you are under that " proclamation, care will be taken; and what is " fitting to be done, will be done: but it is no- " thing in the matter of the charge to this jury.

" P. I deſire council touching the ſtatute 25 " Edw. III.

" Court. You ſhould have done it before you " confeſſed the fact.

" P. I may do it in arreſt of judgment.

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scot, for that of " the king's proclamation, if you be within the " benefit and compaſs of it, according to his " royal word and honour in it, you will have the " benefit of it; but it is not a plea in law, but it " muſt be a pardon under ſeal. Whatſoever con- " cerns that proclamation will be conſidered; it " is nothing to the matter whereon the jury are " to go.

" Gentlemen of the jury,

" You ſee the priſoner, Thomas Scot, ſtand in- " dicted for compaſſing and imagining the death " of our dread ſovereign King Charles the Firſt, " of moſt glorious and bleſſed memory: he is " indicted for compaſſing and imagining his " death; there is the treaſon; and what is ſet " afterwards in this indictment is only to manifeſt " this compaſſing and imagining, becauſe that " being in the heart alone, without ſome overt- " act, nobody can prove it. There are ſeveral

" overt-acts laid in the indictment: one is, a " traitorous conſulting and meeting together how " to put the king to death; then, a ſitting upon " the king as priſoner, being before them about " his life and death; the third is, ſentencing to " death; that which followed is, that he was " murdered. If any of theſe acts ſhould be " proved, the indictment is proved; for the proof, " there are ſeveral witneſſes have fully proved " that he did ſit three ſeveral times, particularly " upon January 27, which was the day of the " ſentence; that he did ſit there, all of them " agree to that: it is true, as to the circumſtance " where he ſat, one gentleman ſaith he ſat in the " ſecond row, on the left hand of Bradſhaw: you " will remember it is twelve years ago; how any " man upon the view, and after ſo long a diſtance " of time, ſhould be able to remember in what poſ- " ture one man was from the reſt, I think neither " you nor I can remember. Here is one proved " to you that he did ſign the warrant for execut- " ing the king; he ſaith, how can another know " his hand? You ſee what the witneſſes ſay, they " knew it: a man can prove nothing more of " another man's hand, than that unleſs they ſee " it written; there is nothing to put upon you " but his words. You ſee what words are aggra- " vated againſt Mr. Scot; whereas he ſaith, it is " a breach of the privileges of parliament: if it " were ſo, it is nothing to this fact; though " another man ſhould break the privileges of par- " liament, it is nothing to you; but beſides, it is not

" a breach of the privilege of parliament. You " have heard the witneſſes what they have ſaid " againſt him. Mr. Lenthal ſwears that he did ſpeak " at large, fully in owning that buſineſs of the " king's death; the reſt ſwear poſitively to the " ſame effect, and that at ſeveral times: what was " that? He gloried in it, defended it, and ſaid, " He could wiſh it were engraven on his tomb- " ſtone: he hath denied this that the witneſſes " have proved. That which is left to you is, " whether upon all this matter that you have " heard, whether the priſoner at the bar is guilty " of compaſſing and imagining the king's death; " and ſo go together."

(After a little conſultation together, they ſettled in their places again.)

" Clerk. Thomas Scot, hold up thy hand.— " Look upon the priſoner at the bar; how ſay " you, is he guilty of the treaſon whereof he " ſtands indicted, or not guilty?

" Jury. Guilty.

" Clerk. Look to him, keeper.

" Clerk. You ſay the priſoner is guilty, &c. " and ſo you ſay all.

" Jury. Yes.

" Clerk. Set Mr. Scot aſide."

I ought, perhaps, to apologize for giving the whole of this trial, as I ſhall alſo want it in the caſe of the regicide, Mr. Scroop; but as all the others, except Major-general Harriſon's, are ſo ſhort, I thought it would be proper to detail them, and

the more, as in ſome of our hiſtories very unfair ways have been uſed in ſpeaking of ſome parts of their defence, and omitting other circumſtances equally material. It is no pleaſant taſk to employ one's pen in ſuch an office; but as their ſituation was, and I hope and truſt in God always will be, unique, it may gratify many who have not an opportunity of peruſing the ſcarce volume in which theſe trials are contained. Such who diſlike to read, may leave the pages; but there will probably be few who will do ſo, as ſo many curious circumſtances are related in the courſe of theſe trials.

He was executed at Charing Croſs, October 17, 1660. He meant to have gone into great lengths about juſtifying the fact for which he was brought to die; and to give his reaſons for his treaſon, the principal of which was, his apprehenſion of the approach of popery; whenever he launched out that way, the ſheriff conſtantly reminded him, that the beſt thing he could do in that ſituation was to pray, which he aſſented to; but yet he went again to his former intention; and in ſome warmth he ſaid, "Sir, 'tis hard that an Engliſhman may not "ſpeak; it is a very mean and bad cauſe that will "not bear the words of a dying man; it is not "ordinarily denied to people in this condition." But to this the ſheriff replied, "Sir, you had a "fair trial, and you were found guilty;" and perſiſted in denying him to ſpeak; and the under-ſheriff interpoſing, told him, it had been denied to his predeceſſors, and would to him. Government were fearful of his inflaming the multitude.

He then made a very long prayer, in which he ſeemed to aſſure himſelf of being eternally bleſſed in the heavenly manſion; and for this he magnified and glorified his Creator. To ſome he ſaid, "God had called him forth as a public ſpectacle "of ſhame and reproach; to others of comfort; "and to the Divine Majeſty, as a witneſs for him "that hath ſerved him with all faithfulneſs in his "truſt and public capacity and employment, to "which he had been a drudge. He bleſſed God "that of his free grace he had engaged him in a "cauſe not to be repented of—I ſay in a cauſe "not to be repented of"—Here the ſheriff again interpoſed; and then he blaſphemouſly talked of "God having diſplayed his preſence to him in "the dark chamber that morning," yet prayed for ſome more particular diſcoveries of his preſence; and after interceding for the nation, he concluded all, "I deſire to be found of thee in "Jeſus Chriſt; I do now abhor all my ſins, and "renounce my ſervices, and do account them all "as dung. Lord, thou knoweſt I have deſired to "live, that I might ſerve thee better, and love "thee more; but that I may be with thyſelf, Oh! "it is infinitely better; and to confirm that teſ-"timony that is concerning thy glorious will; "and thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven, "by me and all thine, from henceforth and for "evermore. Amen."

The executioner then did his dreadful office.

It is impoſſible not to lament the fatal propenſity of this gentleman to a republican form of

government, and his hatred to the perſon of his ſovereign, whoſe murder was his conſtant boaſt; nay he carried it ſo far, that much of his familiar dialogue with the Deity at his death, ſeemed to be a grounded belief, that it was the peculiar cauſe of God, who would own it again. But where has the Almighty ſaid thou ſhalt commit murder, and that the higher the office of the murdered, and the more ſacred their relationſhip is, that the act ſhall ſtill be more meritorious; he ſeemed to wiſh to have it thought at his trial that he might repent, but at his execution he gloried in his ſhame, and impiouſly called upon God, as the inſtigator and approver of his vile wickedneſs, and declared his certainty of meeting with an eternal reward for it.

Yet this man was certainly well educated, had great abilities, and might, if he had choſe it, have been as great a friend, as he was an enemy, to the conſtitution, and an ornament to ſociety; but he had worked himſelf up to a political frenzy, and then, like many more of his companions, called in a wild impiety, and blaſphemy to ſanction his wickedneſs, as the impulſe of the ſpirit of God, making him the author of all the black catalogue of their ſins.

In office, he ſays at his death, he was free from blame; and to Mr. Thurloe the ſecretary, that he had ſo acted in public affairs as to have "clean "hands." His emoluments from his places muſt have been conſiderable: with part of his ſavings from them, it was probably that he pur-

chaſed, with Matthew Hardy, Eſq. the archiepiſcopal palace at Lambeth, for the ſum of 7073l. os. 8d. but they not agreeing about their diviſion of it, preſented a petition to parliament, which was referred to a committee in November 1648. Mr. Scot having that part which has the chapel, threw down the monument of Archbiſhop Parker, the venerable reformer, and turned the ſacred edifice into a drawing-room; and, having ſold the leaden coffin to a plumber, threw the remains of the prelate into a hole, in one of the outhouſes, where they were found at the reſtoration, and with a pious care interred. His conduct at Ayleſbury was as inſolent as diſhoneſt.

He married Grace, eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Mauleverer, Bart. another regicide; happily ſhe died long before his execution. Upon a pillar adjoining the chapel of St. Michael in London, is a ſmall neat monument of white marble erected to her remembrance, inſcribed,

Grace, the eldeſt daughter to
Sir Thomas Mauleverer
of Allerton Mauleverer
In Yorkſhire, Baronet,
Born in the year 1622.
Married unto Collonel Thomas Scot
A member of the honourable houſe of commons 1644
And died the 24th of February 1645.
He that will give my Grace but what is hers
Muſt ſay her death hath not
Made only her dear Scot
But virtue, worth, and ſweetneſs widowers.
Ex Terris.

The arms are parted per pale, indented, a ſaltire counter-charged, impaling three grey-hounds, current, in pale barwiſe.

Mr. Scot had ſeveral children. Major Scot the eldeſt, was ſtill more violent than his father, he would not be perſuaded to ſubmit to military rules, and therefore with Colonel Eyre, and ſome other officers, he ſubſcribed a paper called the Agreement of the People, for which he, with them was put into the marſhal's cuſtody at Ware, where the army then was; but as this was rather for prematurely declaring thoſe ſentiments, which the heads of the army cheriſhed, but durſt not at that time avow, he was ſoon diſcharged. He was in January 1655, taken up for endeavouring to raiſe a revolt againſt the protector, and ſent to Nottingham jail; but as he had been very artful in his conduct, Major-general Whally recommended to Oliver to ſend him into baniſhment, rather than truſt him into the hands of a jury; and he therefore was permitted to go to France; his wife ſent his child to his grandfather, who aſked in behalf of this girl his ſon's arrears, for ſome civil place he had held; a year's ſalary was due; and he ſays that though the major ſerved himſelf but ill, yet ſerved the ſtate faithfully. He alſo aſks Secretary Thurloe for his own arrears of that part of the barge-houſe ground, that was uſed by the public, the other part of it, he ſays, "is ſet at "five or ſix pounds per annum, which was much "after the rate he had from the goldſmith's com-"pany for the like in proportion; the arrears

" were about five or ſix years, for that and the " inheritance of the ſoil, he aſked 100l. or the " rent for the time paſt, with an aſſignation of " certain payment for the time to come. If his " ſatisfaction aroſe in the latter way, he ſhould be " content; but if the former, he ſhould the better " be enabled to make his ſecond payment for a " ſmall purchaſe of *dean* and *chapter* lands in- " tended for one of his younger ſons, wherein for " non-payment (though there lay an obſtruction " upon it,) which that committee ſat not to re- " move, or to conſider of; and he was threatened " with others, to be remitted into the exche- " quer, which he hoped the ſecretary would not " wiſh to have befall him." In the poſtſcript he ſpeaks of his ſon Rowe. No doubt Mr. Owen Rowe, one of the regicides; and perhaps, the ſame ſon-in-law whom he got appointed one of the truſtees and managers for ſelling the crown lands at Worceſter houſe in the Strand.

The Life of ADRIAN SCROOP, *Esq.*

ADRIAN SCROOP, Esq. was of a very ancient family in Buckinghamshire, the head of which was ennobled, and he possessed a very considerable estate. Highly displeased with the court, and desirous of seeing what, he imagined, would establish a perfect liberty, he entered into the parliament army, and raised a troop of horse, at the head of which he appeared at the battle of Edge-hill; from the rank of a major, he soon attained that of a colonel of horse.

In 1647 he united with the other officers in presenting a charge against the eleven members, whom the parliament had taken exceptions to. He was sent to suppress a revolt, as it was termed, in Dorsetshire, occasioned by a clergyman of the name of Wake, having presumed to use the liturgy of the church of England, to his congregation; and when the puritans had gone in, to present it, the people had rescued their minister, and soundly beaten those sent to apprehend him, which was so great a grievance, that the committee of Derby House had represented the outrage to the general. He was sent against the Duke of Hamilton in July following, and soon afterwards with eight troops of horse and dragoons to Yarmouth, which was attacked by the prince and the Duke of York; that place, upon his coming thither, told him, that "they would

" adhere to the parliament, againſt all intereſts;" and that if his excellence the lieutenant-general ſhould command it, " they would admit his " forces into the town, and that they ſhould have " liberty upon all occaſions to march through " the town; but, that they were able themſelves " to ſuppreſs every ſedition that ſhould ariſe " within themſelves."

His ſentiments were ſo well known with reſpect to a republican government, and the diſlike he had to the perſon of his majeſty, that he was appointed one of the commiſſioners of the high court of juſtice; and what was rarely ſeen in that profligate or deluded ſet of men, he ſat every day in the Painted Chamber, and in Weſtminſter Hall, and ſigned and ſealed the warrant for his majeſty's execution.

After the king's violent death, his regiment was drawn by lot to go to Ireland; but his men choſe to act as he had done, in diſregarding authority, declaring they would not go thither, and they ſent letters to Ireton to acquaint him with their reſolution; but at length ſome of the men ſoftened, and declared for the general, expreſſing their readineſs to go whitherſoever he commanded, and the reſt followed their example.

He, however, was excuſed going to that kingdom, being appointed in October 1649, governor of Briſtol Caſtle, where he remained for ſome time, and when the parliament thought proper to ſlight that government, he was appointed in 1657, one of the commiſſioners to Scotland, in conjunc-

tion with General Monk, Lord Broghil, and others; but I ſhrewdly ſuſpect he was removed from a place, where by his ſentiments he might have done much miſchief, for the protector knew his title was as obnoxious to a republican, as that of king could be; and Ludlow is of the ſame opinion; becauſe, to uſe his own words, he "not "daring to truſt a perſon of ſo much honour and "worth with a place of that conſequence."

At the reſtoration he was excepted out of the act of indemnity, both as to life and eſtate, though it had been propoſed, Ludlow ſays, to have fined him only, one year's value of his eſtate; but this I ſhould ſuppoſe is unwarranted; his criminalty in the king's death, being ſo manifeſt; but, contrary to my ſuggeſtion, he ſays, that it was ſo intended, the colonel having ſurrendered himſelf within the time limited by the proclamation; but, that this was altered upon information given by, "that renegado Brown, of ſome pri-"vate diſcourſe between them, in which the co-"lonel, as he ſaid, had juſtified the part he had, "in doing juſtice upon the late king;" but it is more likely that his ſpeaking thus to a man, deſirous at all riſks to make his peace with royalty, was the occaſion of his execution, not of his exception in the bill, any more than the other regicides, none of whom could have been more criminal than himſelf.

He was tried at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 12, 1660, and pleaded "not "guilty."

" Mr. Solicitor General opened the cauſe thus: " May it pleaſe your lordſhips, and you gentlemen of the jury, the priſoner at the bar ſtands " indicted for compaſſing and imagining the death " of the late king, of bleſſed memory. The indictment ſets out, that to that end and purpoſe " the priſoner at the bar did, with others, aſſemble " and ſit together in Weſtminſter Hall, conſulting upon him, and uſurped an authority to " proceed againſt the life of our ſaid late ſovereign, and in purſuance of that, our late ſovereign was brought to his death. Theſe things " are alledged in the indictment as ſeveral overt-acts, to ſhew the treaſon of his heart, which " was the compaſſing and imagining the death of " the king; compaſſing and imagining are the " words of the ſtatute, the reſt of the indictment " is but as ſo many overt-acts, evidences and manifeſtations of that corrupt and wicked heart " of his, by which he firſt thought ſuch a thought " againſt his ſovereign. The manner of our evidence ſhall be this: Before they could come to " accompliſh this damnable deſign, it was neceſſary to meet in a traitorous aſſembly, which " they called the high court of juſtice, that under the pageantry and mockery of that, they " might pretend to murder him by a ſentence; " and before that aſſembly could come to ſit, there " was a precept ſet forth very formally to ſummon them to ſit. This priſoner at the bar is " one of thoſe perſons, who under his hand and " ſeal did ſummon that court to ſit upon the life

" of our late ſovereign. When the court, in obe-
" dience to that ſummons (as they called it) did
" meet, they ſat ſeveral times, and he among
" them; they did proceed with a wonderful im-
" pudence, as they had begun, to pronounce ſen-
" tence of death upon our late ſovereign. My
" lords, this priſoner at the bar was amongſt
" them, and was at that court, and gave the ſen-
" tence. When they had done, that they might
" compleat their villainy, they made a bloody
" warrant for ſevering the head of his late ma-
" jeſty from his body, and the hand of the pri-
" ſoner is to that warrant alſo: and this is the
" ſcope of our indictment.

" Priſoner. My lords, may I have liberty to
" ſpeak?

" Court. If you do confeſs that which is
" opened in evidence againſt you, we ſhall not
need examine any witneſſes.

" P. Examine what you think fit; if I under-
" ſtand that worthy gentleman that ſpake laſt, he
" ſaid that my hand was to the warrant for execu-
" tion. My lord, if I can ſee my hand, I can
" tell; and I will not deny my hand.

" Court. Shew it him. (Which was done
" accordingly).

" My lords, I will not deny but that it is my
" hand, but it is not my ſeal.

" Council. Crier, call Mr. Maſterſon, Mr.
" Kirke, Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Carr, who were
" all ſworn.

" Mr. Maſterſon; pray tell my lords and the

" jury, whether you did ſee the priſoner at the " bar in that which they called the high court of " juſtice, ſitting as a judge upon the late king.

" Mr. Maſterſon. My lords, and gentlemen " of the jury, I ſaw upon the 22d or 23d of Ja- " nuary, in the year 1648, the priſoner at the bar " ſitting upon the bench as one of the judges in " that which they called the high court of juſtice, " the king ſtanding a priſoner at the bar. I ſay " either the 22d or 23d; but I ſay particularly " on the 27th of January, 1648, the day in which " the ſentence was paſſed upon the late king, I " ſaw the priſoner at the bar ſitting upon the " bench in that which they called the high court " of juſtice.

" Council. How did he demean himſelf when " the ſentence was read?

" Mr. Maſterſon. When the ſentence was " read, it was by the preſident (as he was called) " of that court, ſaid to be the ſentence and judg- " ment of the whole court; upon which the pri- " ſoner at the bar roſe up, as to my apprehen- " ſion, teſtifying his aſſent. All their aſſents " were taken ſo, and no otherwiſe to us that were " ſpectators.

" P. I beſeech your Lordſhips that I may " ſpeek without offence, and anſwer to this."

" Court. Mr. Scroop, you may if you pleaſe " have paper and ink to take notes, or to aſk any " queſtions."

" P. My lords, give me leave to aſk him this

" queſtion; whereabouts did he ſee me ſit in the " court?"

" Court. Mr. Maſterſon, you hear the queſ- " tion, pray anſwer to it."

" Mr. M. My lords, I cannot particularly " ſay where he ſat; but I ſaw him in the court, " and to the beſt of my remembrance it was on " the ſecond ſeat on the left hand of Bradſhaw."

" P. I would not give offence to the court in " any kind, I am now pleading for my life, I de- " ſire to take a little liberty to aſk this gentle- " man if ever he and I were in company together " that he knows me ſo well."

" Mr. M. For my part I do not remember I " ſaw his face before the ſitting of that court: " If this gentleman aſk me if I were ever in his " company, I know not how I may conſtrue the " word company; but I am ſure I never eat nor " drank with him; I have ſeen him very many " times at committees, more than twenty times " ſince that buſineſs."

Mr. Clarke called.

" Council. Mr. Clarke, you have heard the " queſtion, did you ever ſee the priſoner at the " bar in that which they called the high court of " juſtice?"

" Mr. Clarke. I do remember in the year 1648, " I ſaw the priſoner ſitting in that which they

" called the high court of juſtice upon the trial " of the king."

" P. My lords, you may deſiſt from examin- " ing witneſſes touching my ſitting."

" Court. Do you acknowledge you did ſit in " that which they called the high court of juſ- " tice?"

" P. Yes. I ſee it proved, and I ſee a gen- " tleman here in my eyes that I know very well. " I will not deny it."

" Court. Did you ſit upon the ſentence day, " that is the evidence, which was the 27th of " January? you are not bound to anſwer me, " but if you will not, we muſt prove it. Do you " confeſs that?"

" P. I do not confeſs that I ſtood up as aſ- " ſenting to the ſentence."

Mr. Clarke called.

" Council. Mr. Clarke, what ſay you to " that?"

" Clarke. I did not take particular notice of " him that day that he ſtood up, but the whole " court ſtood up to my apprehenſion, but I took " notice that he was there then preſent."

Council. Mr. Clarke, do you remember that " you ſaw any of them ſit?"

" Clarke. I did not take notice of any that " ſat then, but all ſtood up to my thoughts."

Mr. Carr called.

" Council. Mr. Carr, tell my lords and the " jury whether you did ſee the priſoner at the " bar ſitting in that which they called the high " court of juſtice."

" Carr. My lords and gentlemen of the jury, " the 22d, 23d, and 27th, of January 1648, I " was preſent when the names of that they called " the high court of juſtice were called, and " amongſt others that were judges of that court, " as was printed in a paper, which I then had in " my hand, I found the name of Mr. A. Scroop, " who I ſaw did there ſit, and appear."

" P. I hope you will not take any evidence " from a printed liſt."

" Council. The manner of his evidence is, " he ſaith this, that he had a printed paper in his " hand, when the names of that court were " called, and marking the perſons in that paper, " who were preſent, and that you were one of " them that did appear.

" P. My lord, I ſhall not diſpute in regard of " my want of ſkill in the law, the lawfulneſs of " bringing in any paper in evidence into the " court, I ſhall not diſpute againſt your lordſhips; " but by your favour I do ſuppoſe there is no " witneſs ought to uſe any paper, or look upon " any paper, when he gives evidence; but I ſhall " ſubmit it to your lordſhips."

" Mr. Solicitor General. Aſk him the queſ-
" tion without his paper, but yet nothing is
" more uſual, than for a witneſs to make uſe of a
" paper to help his memory."

" P. The gentleman that ſpoke laſt, I can-
" not hear him."

" Mr. Solicitor General. We do not need his
" paper in this caſe, he will tell it without a pa-
" per. Mr. Carr, ſpeak without a paper."

" Carr. My lords, upon the calling of thoſe
" that were judges in that court, which they
" called the high court of juſtice then ſitting,
" this gentleman, the priſoner at the bar, did
" anſwer to his name then called."

" P. Did you ſee me ?"

" Carr. I heard you anſwer, and ſaw you."

" P. I pray he may be aſked whereabout I ſat
" in that court."

" Council. Mr. Carr, you hear the queſtion,
" anſwer to it."

" Carr. I am not able particularly to tell
" now, it being many years ſince."

" P. My lord, obſerve of what value this evi-
" dence is; I am ſure I never was in his com-
" pany, I do not know that ever he ſaw me in
" his life. I beſeech you to give me leave to
" plead for myſelf in all humbleneſs and modeſty,
" my lord."

" Lord Chief Baron. Notice is taken of it,
" Mr. Scroop; God forbid you ſhould be de-
" barred of it."

" P. I ſay he comes with evidence of a pa-

" per, he heard my name called, and marked it :
" it is ſtrange that a gentleman whom I never
" ſaw, I know not his name, nor I do not think
" he knew my name, if he had met me."

" Lord Chief Baron. I told you that was laid
" aſide, and you heard him ſpeak viva voce with-
" out a paper."

" Council. Mr. Kirk, did you ſee the pri-
" ſoner at the bar, in that court which they called
" the high court of juſtice, for trial of the late
" king?"

" Kirk. My lords and gentlemen of the jury,
" I did ſee the priſoner there, and I did wonder
" to ſee him there, which was the reaſon I took
" the more ſpecial notice of his being there."

" P. Pray, my lord, let me intreat one thing
" before he ſpeaks, that your lordſhips will be
" pleaſed to ſpeak to him to give in his evidence
" without any ſpeech."

" Council. How can that be, can he give evi-
" dence without ſpeaking."

" P. I beſeech you my lords give me leave to
" ſay this, let him give in his evidence in plain
" words, without any ſpeech."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, he muſt
" be excuſed, there are circumſtances inducing,
" which are as much as the principal ; this that
" he hath ſaid is very material ; ſaith he, I did
" ſee the priſoner at the bar there, I did not ex-
" pect, and wondered at it, and therefore took
" the more notice——let him go on, aſk him
" what queſtion you will."

" P. My lord, I ſubmit."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Kirk, you muſt " ſpeak the truth and the whole truth; go on."

" Kirk. I ſay, as I ſaid before, I ſaw this gen- " tleman ſitting in that which they called the " high court of juſtice, and I did therefore won- " der at it, becauſe I did not expect him there: " I came to know him formerly as he was called " Captain Scroop."

" Council. Go on."

" Kirk. And as I ſaid before, I ſaw this per- " ſon, this priſoner at the bar, ſit amongſt the reſt " of thoſe perſons, judges as they called them- " ſelves of the high court of juſtice for the trial " of the king; I did more particularly take no- " notice of this perſon, becauſe I did not ex- " pect him there; I knew him formerly upon this " report, being an eminent man, by the name of " Captain Scroop, and at that time was an aſſo- " ciate of one Captain Vivers, and Captain Wing- " ham; I had not ſeen him ſome years before " this buſineſs, and ſeeing of him there, I did the " more particularly notice him."

" P. Have you done, Sir? I beſeech your " lordſhip to aſk him what employment he had " there himſelf, when he ſaw me there."

" Kirk. My lord, I was there to hear the " trial."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, I am not wil- " ling you ſhould have any thing of interruption, " unleſs you reflect upon any perſon that con- " cerns not you; Mr. Scroop, do not think it will

" be for your advantage, nor is it proper for you " to aſk."

" P. In all humbleneſs, I do ſpeak it to your " lordſhips, that your lordſhips will pleaſe to " conſider, that if he had any employment in " that buſineſs himſelf, how unfit a witneſs he is " againſt me."

" Court. Much fitter."

" P. If it be ſo I have done."

" Kirk. My lord, I was there only as a ſpec- " tator; I went only there to ſee and hear what " was there to be ſeen and heard; I ſtood there " and took notes in characters of the proceed- " ings, and ſeveral others with myſelf did the " like, and we compared them together, that was " all my buſineſs at that time; and I ſaw him ſit " there on the 27th day of January 1648, which " was the day of ſentence againſt the king."

" P. Whereabouts did you ſee me ſit there."

" Kirk. It is not, I think, imaginable that any " perſon ſhould be able after ſo many years, poſ- " ſibly to ſay where any perſon ſat, but to the " beſt of my remembrance you ſat upon the ſe- " cond bench next to the preſident; but I dare " not be poſitive in that, I dare not juſtify it " upon my oath, it is but my remembrance."

Here Mr. Scroop talked to one that ſtood near him.

" Lord Chief Baron. We muſt deſire that of " you, Mr. Scroop, that you will not ſpeak to any " here, but what the court may hear."

" P. I ſhall obſerve your commands."

Mr. Coytmore ſworn.

" Council. Did you ſee the priſoner at the " bar, ſitting in that which they called the high " court of juſtice, as a judge upon the king?"

" Coyt. I did ſee him "

" Council. When? what day?"

" Coyt. I cannot name the day; I was three " times of their ſitting, there I ſaw him once or " twice; once I am ſure."

" P. What day?"

" Coyt. I cannot remember."

" Council. Did he ſit there as a judge upon " the king?"

" Coyt. He ſat among the reſt as a judge."

" P. Give me leave to aſk him whereabouts he " ſaw me ſit?"

" Council. Where did you ſee him ſit?"

" Coyt. I cannot remember the place, he was " among them, I ſaw him either one or two " days; there was a great company of them to- " gether."

" Council. Mr. Nutley, did you ſee the pri- " ſoner ſitting in that which they called the high " court of juſtice?"

" Nut. If it pleaſe your lordſhips, I was " there in the court thoſe four ſeveral days, that " they ſat in judgment, I heard the priſoner at " the bar called by his name, I did take notice he

" was there, truly I think he was twice or thrice
" to my remembrance.

" Council. Can you tell what day, whether
" the 27th of January, 1648?

" Nut. I cannot positively; but to the best of
" my remembrance he was there, that was the
" last day when judgment was given."

" *Mr. Baker sworn.*

" Council. Mr. Baker, what say you? Did
" you see the prisoner at the bar, sitting in that
" which they called the high court of justice?

" Baker. Yes I did see Col. Scroop on Tuesday
" the 23d of January, 1648, very particularly
" stand up, and answer to his name.

" Council. Mr. Coytmore, are you acquainted
" with Col. Scroop's hand?

" Coyt. I have had several letters from him.

" Council. Mr. Scroop, have you a mind to
" see the warrant for summoning the court?

" P. I desire to see it; I do not remember I
" set my hand to it.

" Court. Shew it him. It being shewed him.

" P. I cannot say it is my hand.

" Council. It is too true, we shall prove it
" to you.

" Court. Shew it to Mr. Coytmore.

" P. Be pleased to let me see it once more;
" which was again shewed him; truly, my Lord,
" I will save him the labour.

" Council. You do acknowledge it was your " hand?

" P. I'll ſave him the labour; for I confeſs I " do not love men ſhould be put to their oaths " more than needs.

" Here likewiſe the warrant for execution was " was read.

" Council. My lords, we ſhall conclude our " evidence with Major-general Brown, the lord " mayor elect."

" *The Lord Mayor elect ſworn.*

" Council. My lord, be pleaſed to tell my " Lords what diſcourſe hath lately paſſed between " the priſoner at the bar and you, concerning the " death of the king.

" Lord Mayor elect. My lords, upon ſome " occaſion I was accidentally at the chamber of " the ſpeaker, there I met this gentleman, whom, " indeed, I knew not; he told me who he was; " and when I underſtood who he was, I ſaid to " him (or words to this purpoſe, I cannot tell " the words) becauſe I would not diſtaſte him, " and ſay you have done this, therefore I put it " thus, *we* have done this, what a ſad caſe have " *we*, ſaid I, brought this kingdom unto? Why, " ſaith he? You ſee, ſaid I, how it is ruined now " the king is murdered, &c. Saith he, ſome are " of one opinion, and ſome of another. Sir, ſaid " I, do you think it was well done to murder the

" king? Saith he, I will not make you my con-
" feſſor, Sir; it was much to this purpoſe.

" Council. When was this ſpoken?

" Lord Mayor elect. Truly I do not know the
" day; but it was that day that Sir H. Mildmay
" rendered himſelf to the ſpeaker; it was ſince
" the coming in of the king.

" Mr. Solicitor General. Neither time nor
" the hand of God appearing in this buſineſs, nor
" the condition he was in, was ever able to bring
" this gentleman to be ſorry for his offence; but
" we do not give it as any evidence of his crimes:
" you have heard the priſoner confeſs the two
" warrants; you have heard by ſeveral witneſſes
" produced, that he did ſit in that, which they
" called the high court of juſtice, by three, that
" he ſat particularly on that day, they called the
" day of their judgment; you have heard how lit-
" tle penitence he hath had, by his declaration to
" the lord mayor elect.

" P. I hope now that you have heard the evi-
" dence againſt me, that you will give me leave
" to make ſome defence for myſelf.

" Lord Chief Baron. God forbid otherwiſe,
" but that you ſhould have free liberty.

" P. Truly, my lords, though my breeding
" hath not been in the way of the laws, and there-
" fore I have a great diſadvantage, when there be
" ſuch learned gentlemen as theſe are to plead
" againſt me. I muſt confeſs to you I have
" ſomething for matter of law to plead for the
" juſtification of the fact, though I would not

" undertake to juſtify the perſon; I humbly in-
" treat that I may have ſome time given me, and
" ſome council that I may anſwer matter of law.

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, if you have
" any thing of matter of law for which you would
" have council, you muſt alledge that matter
" firſt; the uſe of council is only to put in cer-
" tainty what you have of matter of law, and
" then the court and judges muſt judge of it. If
" you have matter of law you muſt tell what it is;
" if it be matter that there is cauſe to overrule it,
" there is no cauſe of making farther uſe of coun-
" cil. If one be indicted for murder, when he
" comes to trial, he will ſay, I have matter of
" law to plead, what is that? That murder is no
" felony. Do you think council will be admitted
" in this? If you do alledge what this matter is,
" wherein you deſire council, you ſhall have your
" anſwer.

" P. My lords, as well as I am able to do
" it, I ſhall do it; my lord, I was not in the
" parliament; take notice of that, and that which
" was done in the high court of juſtice, it was
" done by a commiſſion from the parliament.
" My lord, it was that authority which was then,
" I will not ſay it was ſo, becauſe I would not
" give offence; it was that authority then which
" was accounted the ſupreme authority of the
" nation, and that authority, my lord, that a
" great many of the generality of the nation ſub-
" mitted to. My lord, I having received a
" command from that authority, what I did, was

" in obedience to that authority. My lord, I " have not had time to conſider of theſe things, " becauſe I have been for theſe ſix weeks ſhut up " a cloſe priſoner, and that I could neither come " at council nor any thing elſe, nor to get any " thing to prepare for it; therefore I deſire your " lordſhips to do me the favor, if you ſee any " weight in it, let me have time, and council " aſſigned me.

" Lord Chief Baron. Have you done, Sir?

" P. Yes.

" Lord Chief Baron. Then I take this to be " the effect of what you have ſaid; if I have " not taken it aright tell me ſo: you ſay you " juſtify the fact, though not your perſon; that " you were not of the parliament, that what was " done was by commiſſion from the parliament: " be pleaſed not to miſtake me, for I ſay you " ſaid this: that which I have to plead in juſtifi- " cation of it, I do not ſay that I juſtify myſelf, " but that which I have to ſay is for juſtification " of the fact: I was no firſt contriver of the bu- " ſineſs; and ſecondly, I did it by virtue of the " command, and in obedience to the authority " of the parliament. That that authority was then " accounted the ſupreme authority of the nation, " and that the generality of the nation did ſub- " mit to their authority; I think I have repeated " all you have ſaid. Then, Mr. Scroop, you " muſt know this, that there is no cauſe at all, " why council ſhould be given for what you " ſpeak; I profeſs it rather tends to the aggrava-

" tion, than extenuation of what you did. Firſt
" you ſay you did it by authority of parliament, I
" am afraid you have been miſtaken as well as
" others; by the word parliament, what doth that
" mean? I am ſure you and every one knows, that
" there was not one precedent ever heard of till
" this, that the houſe of commons ſhould take
" upon them the legiſlative power, and make ſuch
" an act as this was; there was no colour for it.
" Then for men upon their own heads, never
" heard of before, and againſt the liberty and
" freedom of the people, that they ſhould call it
" the parliament, when there was but forty-ſix ſat,
" whereas there was above two hundred and forty
" excluded; and how can you call this a houſe of
" commons; did ever the houſe of commons, be-
" fore this ſingle act, take upon them the legiſ-
" lative powers, without the lords? The acts are
" begun in the commons houſe; when you have
" done, if the lords do not paſs it, it is abortive;
" if it be done by both houſes, there ought to be
" the royal aſſent. But the lords had rejected this
" act; then they muſt take upon them theſe forty-ſix
" men, whereof I do believe there was not above
" twenty-five or twenty-ſix men that did vote this,
" and this muſt be called the parliament, the com-
" mons of England. I would fain know whether any
" man hath heard that the houſe of commons took
" upon them the legiſlative power before this act;
" but this hath been overruled in the like caſe,
" and I ſhall ſay no more to it. What is the oath
" of allegiance? Is it not that you would defend

" in obedience to that authority. My lord, I " have not had time to conſider of theſe things, " becauſe I have been for theſe ſix weeks ſhut up " a cloſe priſoner, and that I could neither come " at council nor any thing elſe, nor to get any " thing to prepare for it; therefore I deſire your " lordſhips to do me the favor, if you ſee any " weight in it, let me have time, and council " aſſigned me.

" Lord Chief Baron. Have you done, Sir?

" P. Yes.

" Lord Chief Baron. Then I take this to be " the effect of what you have ſaid; if I have " not taken it aright tell me ſo: you ſay you " juſtify the fact, though not your perſon; that " you were not of the parliament, that what was " done was by commiſſion from the parliament: " be pleaſed not to miſtake me, for I ſay you " ſaid this: that which I have to plead in juſtifi- " cation of it, I do not ſay that I juſtify myſelf, " but that which I have to ſay is for juſtification " of the fact: I was no firſt contriver of the bu- " ſineſs; and ſecondly, I did it by virtue of the " command, and in obedience to the authority " of the parliament. That that authority was then " accounted the ſupreme authority of the nation, " and that the generality of the nation did ſub- " mit to their authority; I think I have repeated " all you have ſaid. Then, Mr. Scroop, you " muſt know this, that there is no cauſe at all, " why council ſhould be given for what you " ſpeak; I profeſs it rather tends to the aggrava-

" tion, than extenuation of what you did. Firſt
" you ſay you did it by authority of parliament, I
" am afraid you have been miſtaken as well as
" others; by the word parliament, what doth that
" mean? I am ſure you and every one knows, that
" there was not one precedent ever heard of till
" this, that the houſe of commons ſhould take
" upon them the legiſlative power, and make ſuch
" an act as this was; there was no colour for it.
" Then for men upon their own heads, never
" heard of before, and againſt the liberty and
" freedom of the people, that they ſhould call it
" the parliament, when there was but forty-ſix ſat,
" whereas there was above two hundred and forty
" excluded; and how can you call this a houſe of
" commons; did ever the houſe of commons, be-
" fore this ſingle act, take upon them the legiſ-
" lative powers, without the lords? The acts are
" begun in the commons houſe; when you have
" done, if the lords do not paſs it, it is abortive;
" if it be done by both houſes, there ought to be
" the royal aſſent. But the lords had rejected this
" act; then they muſt take upon them theſe forty-ſix
" men, whereof I do believe there was not above
" twenty-five or twenty-ſix men that did vote this,
" and this muſt be called the parliament, the com-
" mons of England. I would fain know whether any
" man hath heard that the houſe of commons took
" upon them the legiſlative power before this act;
" but this hath been overruled in the like caſe,
" and I ſhall ſay no more to it. What is the oath
" of allegiance? Is it not that you would defend

" the king, his crown, rights, and liberties,
" againſt all perſons whatſoever? It was not only
" againſt the Pope (as ſome would have it), but
" the word is otherwiſe: they broke the oath of
" ſupremacy, which was, that the king was ſu-
" preme governor of theſe nations. They ſwore,
" that they would maintain, and keep all privi-
" leges, immunities, pre-eminences, annexed to
" the imperial crown of this realm: an imperial
" crown it was, that which was not touched in
" the perſon: we do not ſpeak any thing of the
" abſolute power of the king, for you ſee he can-
" not judge concerning the death of his father,
" but by law. When you ſwore this allegiance,
" all thoſe members to break all this at once, this
" would be ſo far from having any color of autho-
" rity, that he that juſtifies it, it is againſt the
" light of conſcience and law. You ſay, you did
" it by commandment from them: he that doth a
" command by ſuch an authority, it is his guilt:
" our law book ſays, that if a court of common
" law exceed their juriſdiction, in that caſe he
" that obeys that command is puniſhable. In
" the court of common pleas, if there be an ap-
" peal there for murder, it is only proper to the
" upper bench; and therefore if the party be con-
" demned, ſentenced, and executed thereupon,
" the executioner in that caſe is guilty of murder
" for obeying that authority, which was, indeed,
" no authority: and, therefore, whereas you would
" go about to juſtify the fact, becauſe you did it
" by command of that authority, that is an aggra-

" vation: that when men ſhall aſſume an autho-
" rity, which is a devil at the noon-day, appearing
" without vizors; I ſay, ſhall aſſume an autho-
" rity never heard of before; if men will counte-
" nance their acts by obeying of them, it is an
" aggravation: we have already declared this in
" the caſe of the priſoner yeſterday; we are all
" ſatisfied in the law in that caſe; it is ſo clear a
" point in law, that my brethren here and we
" did overrule it yeſterday, in the like caſe, and
" ſo we muſt now; and I hope that all do concur
" in this opinion that hath been delivered.

" Lord Finch. I hope all do concur in this
" opinion delivered by my lord chief baron: you
" ſhelter yourſelf under a command of the houſe
" of commons; but let me tell you, and all the
" world, that if the houſe of commons (let it
" have been never ſo compleat) had given a com-
" mand, it had been a thing no ways juſtifiable;
" the juſtification is an aggravation.

" P. My lord, I do ſee that every thing I
" ſpeak, though it be for clearing myſelf from
" your ill opinion, I ſee it is taken in an ill ſenſe
" (I humbly beſeech pardon for the expreſſion) if I
" err, I will crave your lordſhips' pardon; but,
" my lord, I ſay this, if I have been miſled, I am
" not a ſingle perſon that has been miſled. My
" lord, I could ſay (but I think it doth not be-
" come me to ſay ſo), that I ſee a great many
" faces at this time that were miſled as well as
" myſelf; but that I will not inſiſt upon: I ſay
" this, that I hope an error in judgment ſhall not

" be accounted malice or an error of the will:
" truly (my lord) I never went to the work with
" a malicious heart; I humbly desire your lord-
" ships to take notice of it, that I never bore any
" malice at all against his late majesty."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, have you
" done?"

" P. My lord, I do beseech your lordships to
" take notice that an error in judgment, is not an
" error in the will."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, I am very
" glad to hear you say so; but let me tell you
" what the law saith; the law in this case creates
" the malice. If a man do an act of this nature,
" that may be some kind of excuse to God, but
" towards man you are to look to the fact, the law
" implies the malice. If there be any thing you
" will say in the extenuation of your offence, we
" will be very glad to hear, that it may tend to
" your help."

" P. My lord, there is one evidence comes in
" against me, that I must confess I am very sorry
" to see; and, my lord, there was a saying, and
" it is my lord-mayor elect. Truly he is a worthy
" gentleman, but I desire the lord may forgive
" that which he hath spoken. Truly my lord, I
" did never intend any thing to this, neither can
" I directly remember that I spake those words
" directly as my lord-mayor elect doth speak; I
" do believe my lord-mayor cannot very well re-
" member them himself; for he saith so far as he
" can remember; I must confess that when I was

" there, and had appeared according to the pro-
" clamation, that ſuch diſcourſe, ſomewhat like
" it was raiſed, not of my procuring; I did not
" procure the diſcourſe; I never intended the
" juſtification of the fact; but it was my ill ſuc-
" ceſs that I ſhould meet that worthy gentleman,
" to have ſo much diſcourſe with him."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, my lord-
" mayor elect ſaith no farther than this, ſo far as
" he remembers, and the words that you ſhould
" ſay were theſe, that ſome are of one opinion
" and ſome of another."

" P. Upon the death of the king, (my lord)
" I muſt confeſs to you, that ſomewhat I ſaid to
" him, but I cannot own that I ſaid thoſe words.
" My lords, he is a worthy perſon, I do not deſire
" to ſpeak any thing to degenerate in the leaſt
" kind from him; it is but his yea and my no;
" there was nobody there."

" Lord Chief Baron. Have you any thing
" more to ſay for yourſelf?"

" P. My lord, if your lordſhips do over-rule
" it ſo that I may not have council, I have little
" more to ſay."

" Lord Chief Baron. You have heard the
" ſenſe of the court in that particular, you can-
" not have council allowed you, as to the matter
" you have pleaded."

" P. I have done, but only this, my lords; I
" know not whether it be ſeaſonable to mention
" it; I came in upon the proclamation; and, my
" lords, by means of theſe unhappy words that

" have been reported of me in the houſe of com-
" mons, I have been excepted, whereas before I
" was not excepted before the very laſt day; I
" beſeech you take notice of this."

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, that is a
" thing that is not before us, but there will be a
" proper time to conſider of it in another place,
" that is nothing to the trial; have you any more
" to ſay, Sir?"

" P. No, my lord; will your lordſhip pleaſe
" to let me ſpeak a word to the jury."

" Lord Chief Baron. If you ſpeak to the
" court, the jury will hear it."

" P. Truly my lord, this I do perceive, that I
" am under a very great prejudice as to this fact.
" It hath been the caſe of many gentlemen be-
" ſides myſelf; I deſire that theſe gentlemen
" would take my caſe into conſideration, as they
" would their own, and I deſire that the Lord
" would give them direction, that they may do
" that which is according to juſtice and mercy;
" that is all I have to ſay, my lords."

" Lord Chief Baron. You gentlemen that are
" ſworn of this jury, you ſee the priſoner, Mr.
" Scroop, hath been indicted for imagining and
" contriving the death of his late majeſty, of
" bleſſed memory, King Charles the Firſt. You
" ſee there are ſeveral things in this indictment;
" the charge is the imagining and compaſſing the
" death of the king. In the indictment there are
" ſeveral matters of fact to prove this imagina-
" tion. The imagination is the treaſon, the mat-

" ters of fact to prove it, are but the evidences of " that imagination; if any one of them be " proved to you, it is sufficient, the one is con- " sulting and meeting together how to put him " to death, the other sitting and assuming autho- " rity to bring him to trial. Then you have a " sentence by the court to put the king to death " thereupon; afterwards he was put to death: " any one of these matters are evidence enough " for you to prove the indictment; for though the " indictment concludes that so they did imagine " and compass the death of the king, and that " the king was put to death in manner and form " as aforesaid; the manner and form aforesaid " goes to this, to the imagination of the heart; " for the law did not think any one would put the " king to death, they thought it so great a crime, " they thought it not convenient to bring it into " the statute. But the compassing and imagining " the death of the king is made treason: then to " apply it, this fact to the gentleman, it appears " to you here by the proofs against him. Here is " Mr. Masterson, he swears he saw him sit in that " pretended court; there was your evidence of " the first, the first was their meeting together; " and of the second too, they did assume autho- " rity upon them; and he swears farther to the " sentence, that the prisoner was there. Here " were the three overt-acts all proved. He con- " fesses he did sign the warrant for putting the " king to death. This without any witness at " all, was a sufficient proof, a proof of proofs.

" The other witneſſes, you hear what they ſay; " you hear Mr. Kirk, Mr. Clark, Mr. Nutley, " ſwear all to his ſitting there. It is true, when " this comes to the particulars where he ſat, you " muſt remember it was about twelve years ago; " when a man ſees a mixt number of about " eighty perſons, it is impoſſible a man ſhould be " able to anſwer this particular after twelve years, " where ſuch a one ſat; but you ſee by his ſen- " tencing what he did. They all witneſs they " ſaw him poſitively; and one tells you, " *he* " *wondered he ſaw him there;*" and indeed it " might be a wonder, for Mr. Scroop (to give " him his right) was not a perſon as ſome of the " reſt, but he was unhappily engaged in that " bloody buſineſs, I hope miſtakenly; but when " it comes to ſo high a crime as this, men muſt " not excuſe themſelves by ignorance, or miſ- " guided conſcience as to God, for this horrid " murder of the king ſomewhat may be, but " there is no excuſe or extenuation before man; " there may be I ſay before the Lord. You ſee " the proof is full againſt this gentleman, as full " as may be; witneſſes ſaw him ſit, and he him- " ſelf confeſſed he ſigned the warrants. I have " no more to ſay to you, but gentlemen, you ſee " what it is; I think for matter of fact you need " not go from the bar; but I leave it to you."

" P. My lord, ———

" Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Scroop, if you have " any thing to ſay when the jury have brought in

" their verdict, if you will ſay any thing for mat-
" ter of mercy, the court will hear you."

" P. I thank your lordſhip."

" The jury returned a verdict of guilty ; and
" being aſked what goods and chattles the pri-
" ſoner had, replied none that we know."

" The Lord Chief Baron then told him,

" If you will ſay any thing the court will hear
" you."

" P. I have no more, my lord, but refer my-
" ſelf to this honourable court."

There was certainly a great meanneſs, if not worſe, in the lord-mayor elect towards him, and it was very impolitic in him to unboſom himſelf to ſuch a man. His conduct throughout was more dignified, and he met with more compaſſion than any that ſuffered ; he had an erroneous idea, but acting upon it, he behaved with a ſteady mind, and it does not appear by any one art of his, that ambition or ſordid gain were concerned in it, which is what can be ſaid of no other.

After his condemnation, one of his children hanging upon and weeping over him, he ſaid, " Peace, child, be ſtill, not a word ; thou haſt a " bleſſed portion. Who would be troubled to " die ? for can any one have a greater honour, " than to have his ſoul carried up to heaven, " upon the wings of the prayers of ſo many " ſaints ?"

Being told that he and others alſo doomed to die, muſt all go into the room where Major-ge-

neral Harriſon had been confined after his condemnation, he rejoiced exceedingly that they were not to be parted.

He however had far too much preſumption in telling a clergyman, that, "all his ſins, every "one, was pardoned, and that God had loved "him, with an everlaſting love, and in the "ſtrength of that he would go to heaven."

He told ſome who viſited him "to own the "ſovereignty of God, and think this his ſituation "was his diſpenſation; to be at his feet with "their mouths in the duſt, and to live more in "love and unity one with another."

One of his nephews humanely came to him in the dungeon the night preceding his death, and requeſted of him to repent of the part he had acted towards the late, and to ſubmit to the preſent king's mercy; but he returned him no other anſwer than, "avoid ſatan," at the ſame time thruſting him away.

This night he told his fellow priſoners he ſhould take a little ſleep, having had but an indifferent one the night before, and compoſing himſelf, he ſlept ſo ſound that he ſnored, and was obliged to be waked when the ſledge came for him; and being then aſked how his health was, ſaid, "Very well, I thank God, never better in "my life; and now will I waſh mine hands in "innocency, ſo will I compaſs thine altar, O "Lord."

At the place of execution, he ſaid, "You ſee "an object here, that hath been in a better place;

" but howſoever the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſent " me to this place, that in this place I ſhould die. " I have no animoſity againſt any man, nor ever " had, neither have I any evil-will to thoſe that " brought me hither, nor to the jury that found " me guilty, nor judges that paſſed ſentence, nor " to him through whoſe means I was brought " here to ſuffer; I ſay once more, the Lord for- " give him, I ſhall not name him; for I come not " hither to reflect upon any man's perſon."

" I will not tell you what my breeding hath " been, becauſe it is not good for any man (eſpe- " cially at ſuch a time as this) to boaſt of his " lineage nor breeding; but this I ſhall ſay, I was " born and bred a gentleman."

" As to my carriage, it may be ſome that look " upon me here knows what it hath been; but " God, the judge of all, knew what it was," and then breaking out into a religious ſtrain ſuitable to his ſad ſituation, he addreſſed the multitudes on the right and left hand of him, deſired them to reflect that this was, as it were, a repreſentation of the laſt judgment, finiſhing with wiſhing and deſiring them to judge charitably of him.

His laſt prayer was ſuch as did honour to his underſtanding, and ſtill more to the diſpoſition of his mind; enthuſiaſm gave way to true piety, and he requeſted of that omnipotent being before whom he was going, in a more immediate manner, to appear, that he would not deal with him according to ſins, for he was a miſerable ſinner, " for if thou," ſays he, " enter into

" judgment, who is able to ſtand before thee? " but there is forgiveneſs with thee, that thou " mayeſt be feared. O Lord let me be known " and ſeen, that there hath not been any heart in " me, to any thing with malice or revenge, or " that might ſhew any revenge; if there be any " revenge on the other ſide, the Lord lay it not " to their charge. The Lord bleſs thoſe in au- " thority, the Lord bleſs his majeſty, that he may " reign proſperouſly, and that he may receive a " bleſſing from the hand of the Lord;" and he finiſhed all with praying " for ſtrength to ſtand " and endure his preſent hour of temptation." The executioner then performed his dreadful office.

It was a thouſand pities that if ſo many were to die as public examples, ſome one of the others who were equally guilty of the king's death, and whoſe lives were a diſgrace to any cauſe, were not ſubſtituted in his ſtead. " His port and mean " were noble, and the endowments of his mind " every way anſwerable," ſays Ludlow.

Happy had it been for him, if he had purſued the loyal conduct of Sir Gervaſe Scroop, of Lincolnſhire, the head of his own family, who riſked his life for his ſovereign, old as he was, and fought valiantly at Edge-hill, where he fell wounded in ſixteen different places in his body and head; and had lain ſtripped among the dead from three o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, and remained all that very cold night, all Monday, Monday night, and all Tueſday until the evening;

when his ſon with pious care went to ſeek him amongſt the ſlain, and convey his body to his family place of interment, but to his amazement he found his parent living; and putting him into a warm bed he revived, and was enabled to be conducted to Oxford, where he perfectly recovered, as did a gentleman of the name of Bellingham taken from the ſame place, and in the ſame manner by his ſon; and the ſurgeons allowed, that theſe aged gentlemen were ſaved by the very barbarity that was exerciſed againſt them, for had they been removed immediately, their wounds would have been fatal; but the coldneſs of the nights ſtopped the blood better than all the arts of their profeſſion could.

The Life of AUGUSTINE SKINNER, *Esq.*

AUGUSTINE SKINNER, Esq. was the son and heir of Augustine Skinner, of Tuttesham Hall, in West Farleigh, in Kent, by Frances, daughter and heiress of Augustine Folkes. Mr. Skinner was of a good family seated in Devon; a branch of those in Lincolnshire. His father died in 1635. He obtained a seat in the long parliament, became a committee man for Kent, and was an active magistrate.

He would not take any share in the wickedness contrived, and executed towards the king; and therefore escaped all danger from the effects of that base deed at the restoration.

The protector Oliver placed great confidence in him as a justice of peace; and the parochial records in the neighbourhood of West Farleigh evince his great sway.

At the restoration he became involved in misfortunes, from having imprudently purchased the manors of Bromley and Trottescliff, part of the estates belonging to the see of Rochester; for having, from his eagerness to procure them, borrowed the money, which he now was called upon to repay, and being unable, he threw himself into the Fleet Prison; where, after bearing his misfortune with great fortitude, he died June 11, 1672, aged seventy-eight: his corpse was brought down, and buried in the chancel of West

Farleigh church, where there is a handſome mural monument of white marble erected to his memory by Robert Cage, Eſq. one of his executors. His arms upon it are, ermine, three lozenges, ſable, in each a fleur de lis, or.

He married twice; firſt, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Braithwaite, councellor at law, and widow of John Twiſden, of Dartford; and ſecondly, Ann, daughter of Thomas Franklin, of London, Eſq. By one of theſe wives he had a ſon, named Auguſtine, born in 1618, and died in the ſame year.

He had a brother, William Skinner, Eſq. an officer in the parliament ſervice, who was his heir preſumptive, and involved in difficulties alſo, probably in having, like him, engaged in eccleſiaſtical purchaſes; for this reaſon they jointly procured an act of parliament in the year 1660, to diſpoſe of lands to pay debts. The ſeat of Tutteſham Hall was ſold to Edward Gouldſton, Eſq.

The Life of PHILIP SKIPPON, *Eſq.*

PHILIP SKIPPON, Eſq. was, if we believe the loyaliſts, originally a waggoner; but it is probable his ſituation, though humble, was not ſo mean. He was a devoted ſervant to the parliament, as far as the army judged proper for their own intereſt; and he came, though late, into parliament as a member for Barnſtable, in Devonſhire.

It is greatly to his honour that he declined the dangerous plot againſt the life of his majeſty.—After the eſtabliſhment of a commonwealth, he ſerved that intereſt, until the parliament was turned adrift by Oliver; when he was raiſed by him to be a lord of his other houſe, and continued with Richard, until he ſaw the parliament would deprive him of the ſceptre; but dying juſt before, or immediately after, the reſtoration, he had no time to effect a pardon from offended majeſty.

He was a moſt popular commander; and his intereſt was ſo great in the army, that he obtained great grants, which were too valuable not to retain; and he was too much attached to his own intereſt not to go whitherſoever that directed him; but with the return of royalty, this property was, in general, loſt to his family; yet

ſome remained to his heirs. His ſon, Sir Philip Skippon, of Horſham, in Suffolk, F. R. S. had three wives, and left iſſue by one of them a ſon, of his names, who diſpoſed of his patrimony.

The Life of HENRY SMITH, *Esq.*

HENRY SMITH, Esq. was a gentleman of good family in Leicestershire. It has generally been said that he had been brought up to the bar; but it appears by his trial that he was not educated to that profession.

He was named one of the commissioners, and had the presumption to sit upon his majesty in judgment, pursuing it from the beginning until the end of the trial, omitting no one day either in the Painted Chamber or Westminster Hall, gave sentence, and signed the warrant for the devoted victim's public murder before one of his own palaces in his capital, and in the full glare of day, an act of peculiar infamy, until the present times have dared in another kingdom to copy so vile a precedent.

The parliament gave him, as a reward for his "services," one of the six clerks' places, worth at that time one thousand pounds per annum.

The protector named him, Edward Smith, Esq. and another Edward Smith, Esq. of Edmondthorpe, all in Leicestershire, as committee-men of that county. King Charles II. created this last gentleman, on March 2, 1660, a baronet; and knighted Roger Smith, Esq. of the same place; all of whom were related, and probably nearly so, to this regicide.

He ſurrendered himſelf in compliance to the parliament's proclamation, and was arraigned for his nefarious crime, with his fellow culprits, at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 10, 1660, and pleaded Not guilty. On the ſixteenth, he was brought to the bar to ſpeak in his defence; when, addreſſing the court, he ſaid,

"P. My lord, I ſhall not deſire to ſpend your "lordſhips' time; what I have done, I did it ig- "norantly, not knowing what I did. I ſhall not "deny the matter of fact; but as to that I pleaded "Not Guilty before: it was in relation to that "which I was ignorant of the law of the nation. "I have not been bred to it; I humbly deſire "your lordſhips to conſider that what I did was "done ignorantly, not knowing the law.

"Council. What was that?

"P. I do confeſs that I ſat in the court; I do "not remember that I ſigned or ſealed." (Both the warrants being ſhewed him, he added) "My "lords, I confeſs the hands are like mine; but "whether they be ſo or no, I know not.

"Council. Then we will prove it. Is the "ſeal yours?

"P. I do not know.

"Council. Do you confeſs you were in the "Painted Chamber the 29th of January? Do "you remember any thing of that?

"P. I do not certainly know that.

"Council. My lord, he hath ſaid enough.--- "Shall the jury doubt of that which he be- "lieves?

"P. I do not remember that I did write it.

"Council. My lord, we preſs it no farther, "he hath confeſſed enough.

"P. My lord, what I have done I beſeech you "conſider I did it in ignorance, not knowing the "law. There were thoſe about me that were able "to call me, who were then in authority, whom "I dared not diſobey, if ſo, I had been in danger "alſo.

"Council. My lords, we have done; be pleaſed "to direct the jury upon theſe ſeveral evidences "and confeſſions.

"P. I beg one word; I muſt declare this, I "can ſpeak it ſeriouſly, that, from the firſt to the "laſt of theſe unhappy wars, I have been a man "of trouble and ſorrow. I have been, as many "wiſer men have been, run upon error. My "lord, I know not what I have done; I pray that "this court will be pleaſed to be a mediator for "me, that I may have his majeſty's favour. (He "then delivered his petition to the court.) I can "rejoice for that happy ſettlement that is again in "the nations; and declare cheerfully my humble "ſubmiſſion to that government, and deſire the "Lord will bleſs and proſper his majeſty and the "parliament in theſe nations. My lord, I ren-"dered myſelf according to the proclamation: I "ſhall ſay no more.

"The lord chief baron, in his addreſs to the "jury, ſpeaking of him, ſaid, Henry Smith, he "did it ignorantly, he was not guilty thus far; "that was, he was led on, even like one ſilly

" ſheep that follows another, by what relation I " have heard of the perſon; at that time he was " not thought fit to be of the privy council."

He was brought in guilty; but his majeſty permitted him to die in priſon. He was ſeemingly a very poor weak man, whoſe name and perſon was uſed juſt to fill up the number required.

Smith is ſo common a ſurname, that it is difficult to aſcertain one man from another who bears it; or perhaps ſomething more might have been learnt of this regicide: but from his incapacity we muſt ſuppoſe it could be but little.

The Life of ANTHONY STAPLEY, *Eſq.*

ANTHONY STAPLEY, Eſq. was ſon of a gentleman of both his names, ſeated at Framfield, in Suſſex, by the daughter of a gentleman in that county, whoſe ſurname was Thatcher.

He ſhewed his diſlike to the court by refuſing to contribute towards the war to be undertaken againſt the Scots, who had marched into the kingdom. The government of the monarch was by no means popular; many real and many ſuppoſed grievances threw a gloom over moſt conſiderate men. He, as a perſon of good family and fortune, was returned in both the laſt parliaments in Charles' reign, as one of the repreſentatives for his own county.

His conduct in that ever-memorable meeting the long parliament was uniformly directed againſt his ſovereign; and obtaining the rank of colonel in the army, he learnt there a new ſyſtem of politics: the venerable conſtitution he at firſt pretended to ſupport againſt innovation, now appeared unworthy of exiſting; and he joined in all the ſcandalous exceſſes which the heads of the army choſe to practiſe, until they arrived at the height of human depravity, in decreeing a ſolemn murder of him, to whom they all not only owed, but had ſworn allegiance.

How greatly muſt we blame this gentleman, who, regardleſs of the moſt ſacred of duties, of

that love which he owed to his own family in particular, plunged himſelf and them into inevitable ruin, by uniting with the army cabal, in ſacrificing his ſovereign to their aggrandizement; attending this court of injuſtice from the 20th day of January to the 27th incluſive, and ſigning the warrant for the king's execution.

The monarchy being deſtroyed, he obtained the moſt conſiderable ſituation in the government; for he was appointed of the council of ſtate in the years 1649, 1650, and 1653, beſides having the government of the city of Chicheſter. The exact time of his death I have not ſeen; it is probable he was too much a republican to have been ſatisfied with Oliver's aſſumption of the government, which, I preſume, he did but juſt ſee.

There were few who ſat in this illegal meeting, who were more unwiſe than Mr. Stapley; becauſe he could have little to gain, and every thing to loſe; but rebellion ſo infatuates, that there are conſtant encroachments made upon the mind, until at laſt it is entirely darkened, and they perpetrate deeds they would have dreaded to have had for a moment gleamed upon their minds at an earlier period.

He married Ann, daughter of George Goring, Eſq. and ſiſter of George Lord Goring, Earl of Norwich; by whom he had John, his heir; Anthony, and — I think a major in the army in Ireland.

The eldeſt of them made ſo conſpicuous a figure

in theſe diſtracted times, that I ſhall ſpeak particularly of him. Major-general Goffe, Nov. 5, 1655, writes to ſecretary Thurloe from Lewes, "Mr. John Stapley being in towne when I came, "called att my lodgings, and in that little diſ- "courſe wee had, he ſeemed very ready to ſerve "his highneſs (to uſe his own expreſſion) in "a publicke employment. I have aſſured ſome "of this towne, that his brother, Mr. Anthony "Stapley, is putt into the commiſſion for the "peace, which I doubt not you will make good." And in another letter, dated January 5, 1655-6, he ſays, "Mr. John Stapley was with us att "Lewis, and I am perſuaded is very cordially re- "ſolved to ſerve the protector: he hath ſaid to "ſome of his friends, that he will venter his life and "eſtate for him; and therefore, becauſe I find ſome "of the juſtices of this country much troubled "that they have noe cuſtos rotulorum, ſome of "them ſaying that defect may make all their pro- "ceedings queſtionable, I am bould once more to "fill up that blanke in the commiſſion with Mr. "Stapley his name, with others:" and it appears by Scobel, that both the brothers, John and Anthony, were put in it.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe profeſſions of regard for his highneſs' ſervices, he embarked in a plot to ruin the protector. To this he was led by Lord Norwich, who repreſented to him, that the only poſſible hope he could expect of pardon for the deep crime of his father, and his own yielding

to the power of the uſurper, was to aſſiſt in the attempt then carried on to obtain his majeſty's return to his dominions, and ſuch a declaration in favor of royalty only could ſecure his eſtate from confiſcation upon the king's obtaining the crown.

The advice of his noble relation, the hopes and fears that agitated him, with perhaps ſome deſire of doing a duty he owed in a particular manner to his ſovereign, and his country, to attone for the demerit of his father, all conſpired to make him liſten to the dangerous project, and he received ſix commiſſions from the king, to give to whomſoever he judged proper in Suſſex, to raiſe troops for his majeſty's ſervice; and it was thought a great matter gained to have ſo conſiderable a perſon in the royal intereſt, in a coaſt county, ſo near London. Theſe commiſſions the ill-fated, pious Dr. Hewet gave him, whom he became acquainted with at his grandmother's, lady Champion's; and in union with the loyal, but equally unfortunate, Sir Henry Slingſby his uncle, the whole plan was laid to bring in the king.

This project was diſcovered to Oliver, by the vigilance of his numerous ſpies; and, as it appeared, he greeted this young gentleman when he waited upon him, at Whitehall, with one of his tremendous frowns, but diſmiſſed him, with greater complacency; he ſhould then have revealed what he might be certain was known, and ſoon after he was apprized of his danger by the pro-

tector, to whom, in 1658, he wrote this ſupplicatory letter:

" May it pleaſe your *highnes*,

" Your miſlead, and unadviſed, and now diſ-
" treſſed ſupplicant, doth take the boldnes to
" preſent his troubled and deſpicable eſtate, that
" he is now brought into, through the deceite and
" colluſion of your and his enemyes, that ſur-
" prized him, and, throw the deluſion, infatuated
" his judgment and reaſon, that never was in-
" clined to a compliance with yours, this nation's,
" and his father's enemyes; the conſideration of
" which hath begott a ſenſe of his folly which
" doth oppreſs me much; the thoughts of my ene-
" mies rejoyſing; the trouble of my friends; and,
" above all, to bee excluded from your highnes's
" favore; but confeſſing and forſaking with God
" perſons find favore; and I believe your highnes
" is gided by the influence of his ſpirit, that I ſo
" doeing from the ſincerity and ſimplicity of ſoul,
" I truſt through your highnes' clemency to find
" the ſame. And, for the future, I doe promiſe,
" by the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, I will not only
" live peaceably, but with the utmoſt of my en-
" deavours ſtand by your highneſs with life and
" fortune, to preſerve your highnes' perſon, in-
" tereſt and dignity; and, if ever Charles Stewart
" ſhould, in my dayes, make any attempt againſt
" your preſent government, I will perſonally ap-
" peare againſt him, though it be but in the capa-

" city of a private trooper, if I may not be in-
" truſted by your highneſs, or your ſucceſſers,
" with better preferment.

" My lord, I doe humbly begge your pardon,
" that I did not at firſt declare to your highneſs
" the whole buſſines that I was concerned in. I
" was daſhed at your preſence, and aſtoniſhed at
" the conſideration of my ſin; for which I have
" aſked pardon of God, and doe aſk it of you.
" My lord, it is the glory of a prince to paſſe bye
" an offence. I humbly begge pardon for this
" preſumption, reſolving to continue as I am,
" and ever ſhall be,

" Your highnes

" Devoted and faithful ſervant till death,

" J. STAPLEY."

This letter, perhaps, ſaved his life, complying with the terms upon which it was granted; the painful taſk of betraying every particular circumſtance that could criminate Sir Henry Slingſby, Dr. Hewet, and all the other loyaliſts implicated in the conſpiracy; and ſuch were the temper of the times, that Captain Anthony Stapley, alſo concerned in it, in the ſame manner betrayed every thing that could tend to convict this gentleman, his elder brother. The protector only ſhed the blood of the two principals, Sir Henry, and Dr. Hewet. What particular injury it did to Mr.

Stapley, except loſing five hundred pounds he had laid out in arms, does not appear.

There was ſomething very baſe in profeſſing a partiality to Oliver's perſon and government, and then acting againſt both; but his ſituation was very critical; the ſin of his father hung over, and threatened him with ruin; the ſolicitations of his great, and reſpectable maternal relations, urged him to accept of the royal mercy in the only way that it could be attained; danger was before him which way ſoever he turned; he choſe that conduct which ſeemed to have the leaſt, but though it was near overwhelming him, proved ſafe in the end; for, at the reſtoration, though his father was attainted, and his eſtates forfeited, yet his majeſty conſidering the riſk he had run, and not knowing of his engagement to act againſt CHARLES STUART, graciouſly gave him the paternal lands of Patcham, conferred the title of knight upon him, and alſo gave him a patent for that of baronet, July 28, 1660.

He married a daughter of Sir Herbert Springet, of Broyle-place, in Suſſex, baronet, by whom he had four children; Herbert Stapley, Eſq. who died in his father's lifetime, leaving no iſſue by Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Culpepper, Knt. Philidelphia, married to Peter Courthorpe, of Danny, in Hartſpierpoint, in Suſſex, Eſq. ſheriff of that county in 1651, a very worthy and loyal gentleman. Elizabeth, to John Briggs, of Chicheſter, L. L. D. Mary, to Walter Dobell, of

Street, in Suſſex; and Barbara, to William Hay, of Glynebourne, in the ſame county, gentleman. Theſe ladies, by the death of their brother, ſhared their father's eſtates.

The Life of ALGERNON SIDNEY, *Esq.*

THE HONORABLE * ALGERNON SIDNEY was the ſecond ſon of Robert Earl of Leiceſter; and Dorothy, eldeſt daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland. He had a very learned education; and, in 1632, went with his father to the court of Denmark, his lordſhip being appointed ambaſſador to his Daniſh majeſty; he afterwards accompanied the Earl into France: the counteſs in a letter addreſſed to her lord, at Paris, dated November 10, 1636, ſays, "ſhe hears him much "commended by all that come from thence, for "a huge deal of wit, and much ſweetneſs of "nature."

When the Iriſh broke out into rebellion, he had a commiſſion for a troop of horſe in his father's regiment, and he accompanied his brother, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, into that kingdom, where he acquired great commendation for his gallantry againſt the enemy.

He obtained his father's licence, then lord lieutenant-general of Ireland, to return to England; upon his landing in Lancaſhire, with his brother the viſcount, his majeſty ordered both of them upon their allegiance to come to him, at Oxford; but this, by their own means probably, being known to the parliament, they ſent and ſecured their perſons, and conducted them to London; but

* Honorable is omitted in the commiſſion conſtituting him one of K. Charles's I.'s judges.

the king knowing the ſcheme, was, as he had great reaſon to be, highly offended.

There was little difficulty in perſuading him to take a command in the parliament army, the ſituation of all others he moſt wiſhed for; they gave him 2000l. for his arrears; and May 10, 1644, he became captain of a troop of horſe under the Earl of Mancheſter; and April 2, 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general, gave him a colonel's commiſſion.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle fought at York, and in others. He was made governor of Chicheſter; but his brother, Lord Viſcount L'Iſle, having been appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland, and general of the forces there, by the parliament, he went again into that kingdom, and he obtained the rank of lieutenant-general of the horſe there, and became alſo governor of Dublin; but from ſome political movement, April 8, 1647, the friends of Colonel Jones took the advantage of a very early and thin houſe, to have it moved by Mr. Glynne the recorder, that he ſhould be made chief governor, and not deputy to him, and it was carried, though he had accepted that appointment from the committee of Derby Houſe; but to ſweeten the diſobligation, the parliament voted, that Colonel Sidney be conſidered for his good ſervice, and, May the 6th, he, and Major Harriſon, whom he greatly eſteemed, had the thanks of the houſe for their good ſervice in Ireland, and he was afterwards made governor of Dover.

His political ſentiments being well known, he

was appointed one of the king's judges, but he only ſat the 13th, 15th, and 19th, days of January, in the Painted Chamber, owing moſt probably to the powerful influence of the Earls of Leiceſter and Northumberland.

Looking upon Cromwell as one who had betrayed the good old cauſe, for which they had been fighting, he never acted under his government; but the protector was not one, who would overlook, or forgive his declaring againſt him, ſo that he was obliged to remain at leaſt quieſcent, but the moment they had deprived Richard of the government, he came forward, and the army, and the long parliament united to receive him with open arms; in May, 1659, he was made one of the council of ſtate, and, in June, that council appointed him, Bulſtrode Whitlocke, Eſq. and Sir Robert Honeywood, commiſſioners to the Sound, to mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark; but Mr. Whitlocke, in his memorial ſays, "he was not willing to undertake this "ſervice, eſpecially to be joined with thoſe, who "would expect precedency of him, who had been "formerly ambaſſador extraordinary to Sweden "alone, and becauſe he knew well the overruling "temper and height of Colonel Sidney; he there-"fore endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, by reaſon "of his old age and infirmities," though "the "council preſſed it upon him," and he obtained leave to remain in England.

Colonel Sidney accordingly went thither, and it appears that he did take the lead in that nego-

tiation. In one of them, he ſays, "the truth is, "the proceedings of the Dutch ambaſſadors is "unſupportable; for beſides their inſolency in "treating with France and England as ſubjects, "Sidney cannot truſt what they ſay. The French "ambaſſadors and we do ſometimes humble "them, but they return again to their old courſe. "This obliged us to deliver the paper, which "Slingerland did profeſſe was reaſonable, and "that they could expect no leſſe. And when they "could not find fault with the matter, they took "exceptions at it for being falſe Latin, which "probably is true; for our own ſecretaries being "abſent, I writ it, having never in my life writ-"ten ſo much as three lines in that language. "But I am not ſolicitous for that reproach in a "man of my profeſſion; the breaking of Pritian's "head is noe great crime."

During his abſence, he wrote often to the earl his father, and his letters, which are extremely ſelect, evince how much he had conſidered the human character, and diſcriminated that of individuals; of his melancholy ſituation none can read without a ſincere commiſſeration, that ſo wiſe a man ſhould be ſo prejudiced to a form of government inimical to the laws, and injurious to the welfare and happineſs of the kingdom, as well as diſapproved by all, but a very little inconſiderable part of the community.

I ſhall endeavour in ſome meaſure to follow him, when ſpeaking of his own private ſituation. From Copenhagen, November 5, 1659, he men-

tions with great feeling the death of the counteſs his mother, and condoles with his father, "a loſs "that was ſo great to his lordſhip, and his family; "of which his ſenſe was not ſo much diminiſhed, "though prepared by her long languiſhing, and "certainly incurable ſickneſs, increaſed by the "laſt words and actions of her life;" and he obſerves, that "though ſuch are moſt fit to die, yet "they are moſt wanted, and moſt grieved for;" and he offers his lordſhip if it will do any ſervice in eaſing his ſolitude, immediately to return from his public employment.

He afterwards in other letters ſpeaks in the higheſt terms of Charles X. King of Sweden, who died whilſt he was a plenipotentiary at the northern courts, ſaying, he muſt confeſs his majeſty had ſuch qualities, as he loved and admired, though he knew his errors alſo, and he had a ſincere wiſh to ſerve him, as far as his powers extended; and he thought it a great honour to do what ſuch a prince ſhould acknowledge to be an obligation. The monarch expreſſed his ſenſe of this kindneſs only four hours before he died, which was a farther inducement for him to behave with attention to the welfare of his infant ſon, and the very virtuous widowed queen; and he expreſſed a hope that his majeſty would not, nor any elſe reſent it, though it was taken up with great bitterneſs by the Dutch. Yet, in an addition to the laſt of the letters which he writes upon this ſubject, he makes what, in any but a republican, would be eſteemed an infamous offer of aſſiſting

Denmark, to utterly depreſs this very queen and her ſon, and it could be done only to gain favour with a court which, then and ever after, he affected to deſpiſe.

He acquaints Lord Leiceſter that as he thought his commiſſion died by the reſtoration of monarchy in England, he had never done more than publicly and officially communicated the change. He wrote from Copenhagen May 22, and from Stockholm June 27, and then from Copenhagen again July 14; his laſt letter at that place is dated July 22, in which he ſays, he took his leave the preceding day of the King of Denmark.

He complains that "though all public tranſ-"actions in England were well known to him, "yet his friends were ſo ſhort in what particularly "related to himſelf, that he could make no judg-"ment at all upon what they ſaid, perhaps the "truth was, they could ſay nothing to his ad-"vantage."

Though he had neither ſat on the firſt day in the Painted Chamber to ſummon the high court of juſtice, nor on the laſt day in Weſtminſter Hall, when ſentence was paſſed, to effect the public murder of the late king, nor ſigned the warrant for the purpoſe of completing the villany, yet his ſentiments were ſo well known, his influence with the party ſo great, and his enthuſiaſm for a commonwealth ſo violent, that his majeſty did not think it prudent to permit him to return to Britain; the diſtaſte the king had was merely to him, not his family, for the old peer, and Lord

L'Iſle were received with reſpect at Whitehall, though perhaps no family in the kingdom had owed more to King James's houſe than the Sidneys, and none returned it leſs; their warmeſt friends cannot vindicate them from great ingratitude; and what makes it more criminal in them, it aroſe from reſentment only on account of King Charles I.'s queen removing the Earl of Leiceſter from a place near her perſon.

Colonel Sidney therefore leaving the northern kingdoms went into Germany; he was at Frankfort upon the Main September the 8th; his account of the manners of the inhabitants and what he ſaw obſervable in Germany is very pleaſing; purſuing his travels he reached Rome, at leaſt as early as November 19-29, 1660, from which city we have many letters written with peculiar accuracy, relative to the court of that capital of the Catholics; and though his religious, as well as political principles were univerſally known, he was received with great reſpect and attention by the cardinals an princes; an Iriſhman of the name of White, and another of that nation, one Plunket, ſtrove to make him odious, as having carried his ſword againſt the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

It is wonderful to ſee how much, how well, how varied, and with what eaſe he writes, whilſt his mind was harraſſed by the very critical ſituation in which he ſtood. Sometimes, however, he breaks out into very paſſionate ſtrains relative to it, but then again purſues his eaſy epiſtolary avo-

cations, deſcribing the ſcene that is paſſing before him.

It appears that he had received very great loſſes; probably all that he had obtained from the uſurpation went to their legal owners; his other lands in great diſorder, his mother's legacy in his favour withheld, and in fine, he was reduced to the greateſt pecuniary diſtreſs, ſo that he was deſtitute of all help at home, and expoſed to all thoſe troubles, inconveniences, and miſchiefs into which thoſe are, who have nothing to ſubſiſt upon; in a place far from home, where no aſſiſtance can poſſibly be expected, and where he was known to be of a quality which made all low and mean ways of living ſhameful and deteſtable. Theſe were part of the evils with which he found himſelf encompaſſed, and out of which he ſaw no iſſue, nor could he make one ſtep, that was not as likely to prove his deſtruction as preſervation.

Finding his expences too great for his purſe, he went to Fraſcati, near Rome; which he did the rather becauſe that city was unhealthy, eſpecially where he had reſided; Fraſcati was a moſt enchanting ſpot, and there he gave himſelf up entirely to reading; and though he every morning ſaw the ſun riſe, yet he never went out until ſix or ſeven o'clock in the evening, but he could not judge how long this ſolitude would pleaſe him, yet he could not but rejoice a little to find, that when he wandered as a vagabond through the world, forſaken of his friends, poor, and known only to be a broken limb of a ſhip-wrecked fac-

tion, that he received humanity and civility from thoſe, who were in the height of fortune and reputation; but he knew too that he was in a ſtrange land, and that theſe kindneſſes were too airy to feed or cloath him.

He could not forget what had been, nor what was then preſent to him, but he did all he could to accompliſh the former, and not to anticipate the evils that might be behind; he ſays, he even ſtrove to hide his ſenſibility in ſtupidity; and that he had artificially increaſed it to a very great degree, but from which Lady Strangforth's ill-uſage had removed him; otherwiſe he ſhould never have troubled himſelf to reflect how he ſhould have bread for three months.

This he ſaid to ſhew his father into what ſtate nature and fortune had brought one who received life from him; yet he ſubjoined he had not much to complain of, unleſs in that one point, leſs to deſire, and leaſt of all to be pleaſed with. In Rome he wrote with much pain, here, with the greateſt eaſe, having ſo divided his time that he was ſenſible of loſing an hour; he then tells his lordſhip that he thinks this a lawful excuſe for writing to him, if it were otherwiſe he would wave all reſpects to entertain him; but that he had occaſion to make ſmall apologizes to his other friends, their ſilence commanding his.

Such were the ſentiments of this great man in an enthuſiaſtic moment of retirement, ſolitude, and ſome degree of gloom; but a mind active, energetic, reſtleſs and ambitious would not long

remain in this idle hermetic ſtate, but like a bow newly ſtrung acquired a ten-fold power for its late inactivity; from the ſecluſion of Fraſcati he pierced the Alps, and ſought his fellow republican exiles; and with Ludlow, the chief of them, he conſulted upon the feaſibleneſs of bending their arms againſt monarchy, or uniting and ſerving in the field ſome foreign potentate.

Ludlow ſpeaks of the conferences they had, though but faintly; he mentions that the Engliſh government ſought to have him aſſaſſinated; but there is not the leaſt proof of this, and it ſeems only the ſuggeſtion of a prejudiced mind.

Wiſhing to go through Germany to Montpellier, he applied to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Lewis XIV. for permiſſion, who was pleaſed to ſend him a letter, giving him leave to go thither with his domeſtics, notwithſtanding the war between the two crowns, dated from Vincennes Auguſt 3, 1663.

Here however he could remain but a ſhort time, for he was at Bruſſels in the middle of December in that year, and having there an offer to ſerve the emperor in a military capacity, he tells his father, that if the propoſition is real, he would undertake to tranſport a good ſtrong body of the beſt officers and ſoldiers of their old army both horſe and foot, though the obtaining of this would be a very conſiderable diſadvantage to him, and ſome of his friends; he did not aſk it as a favour, he knew neither they nor he ſhould receive any thing upon that account. The firſt

that ever he did aſk, and the laſt that ever he could aſk, ſaid he, the aſſurance of being permitted to live quietly for a few months at Penſhurſt not having been granted, he was like to make few requeſts for the future.

He thought government would be glad to get ſuch men out of the kingdom, he therefore intreated his father to ſee Culpepper, who made the propoſition to him, and know whether it was a thing proper for him to accept; if it ſhould be granted, he ſaid, thoſe he carried out would gain honour to the nation, whitherſoever they went, and either find fortunes for themſelves or graves, which was as good, and it would be very ſuitable to his intention, as he meant to ſpend the next ſummer as a volunteer in Hungary.

He had his doubts that his lordſhip would be unwilling to propoſe this, leſt it ſhould make the king or his miniſters believe that he was upon better terms with his old companions than his lordſhip would have him think. But he deſired all ſuch ſcruples to be waved, for he had credit enough with them, for ſuch a buſineſs as that, and if he were not thought at court to have far more than he had, they would not trouble themſelves with him ſo much as they did. Whatſoever it was, he deſired to make uſe of it, to carry him, and a good number of thoſe in the ſame condition, ſo far from England, as thoſe who hated might give over ſuſpecting them, requeſting that Lord Sunderland might have it laid before him.

Such is the valuable information we receive from his letters, and which I have copied, as far as poſſible in his own words, and here he appears in his native colours, to be ſeen without prejudice, but in no point of view is he ſo intereſting a ſubject of contemplation as in his retirement near Rome, in none does his diſcriminating powers ſhine ſo much as whilſt in that city.

The thread of his aged father's life being nearly ſpun, he wiſhed his grand-ſon, the Earl of Sunderland, the king's confidential ſervant, to permit this, his ſon's return, and to obtain him a pardon, and his majeſty was prevailed upon in the year 1677 to grant both; but it was a misfortune, and it had been better on all accounts that they had never been given. His rooted prejudices againſt the government made him unfit to be truſted, both for his own ſake, or for that of the ſovereign.

His father left him a legacy of 5000l. and another of 100l. theſe were inconſiderable to form an income, ſuch as once he had enjoyed, and ſtill more ſuch as he had reaſonably hoped to poſſeſs, and government would not truſt him with any place; they even in 1678 took every mean to prevent his obtaining a ſeat in parliament for Guildford.

His ſubſequent hiſtory and misfortunes are known to all, he fell under the jealouſy of the court, was tried by a packed jury and ſentenced by an infamous judge; his deſtruction, ſo long wiſhed, was effected, and it diſgraced our juriſ-

prudence and injured the monarch, whoſe ſafety was thought to be precarious whilſt he lived. Though violent in his temper, he bore his misfortunes with a compoſure that would have done honour to the greateſt character of antiquity. He aſked his nephew, Lord Sunderland, to intercede for mercy, but it was denied him, and he died upon the ſcaffold on Tower Hill December 7, 1683, aged 61; and the next day was buried with his anceſtors at Penſhurſt in Kent. In making a vault a few years ago his coffin was ſeen, and curioſity being excited, it was opened. The body was very perfect; and the ribbon which had been tied round the head, and brought round the neck to faſten it to the trunk ſtill remained, and continued to perform the uſe it was firſt intended it ſhould.

Sidney was a real friend to liberty, but miſtaken in the means of procuring it; it is extraordinary that any could be ſo blinded by party as to prefer the government of the Engliſh commonwealth, to our juſtly poiſed conſtitution, and eſpecially when it was evident that England never groaned under ſo ſevere a deſpotiſm as at this time. Cromwell is deſerving of the greateſt commendation in overthrowing a ſyſtem of peculation, narrowneſs of mind, and perſecution; their ſhort tyranny was deſtructive to more families, cauſed more real ſorrow, and more degraded the national character than the moſt arbitrary reigns of our moſt deſpotic ſovereigns. The naval fame of ſome gallant ſpirits alone kept it from a con-

tempt, that otherwiſe would have overwhelmed it. Oliver reſcued the kingdom from the unfeeling gripe of ſelfiſh miſcreants, and raiſed it to a meridian ſplendour.

We more admire than wiſh to copy, more honour than love the character of this unfortunate gentleman; he was juſt in his public employments in reſpect to pecuniary circumſtances, but it is evident that he would comply with the worſt commands that his ſovereign would have laid upon him; contrary to a ſolemn promiſe juſt given to a dying prince to ſuccour the fatherleſs, and defend the cauſe of the widow. In private life he was reſpected, but ſeldom obtained the friendſhip of thoſe whom he aſſociated with; his abilities and the rank of his family however kept him in the ſevereſt days of affliction from every approach to contempt; though his conduct was regarded with peculiar diſguſt by moſt of his countrymen, and by thoſe foreigners with whom he reſided.

At the revolution his attainder was reverſed, and Henry, his younger brother, raiſed to the peerage by the titles of Viſcount Sidney of Sheppy, and Earl of Romney, both in Kent; he died loaded with the greateſt employments civil and military, April 4, 1704, and, like his brother Algernon, unmarried.

Colonel Sidney wrote diſcourſes upon government which were produced at his trial to criminate him; they were publiſhed at the revolution. He left alſo in manuſcript, treatiſes in Latin and Italian,

and an eſſay on virtuous love in Engliſh. From whence we may be certain that in his days of retirement he improved himſelf in the Latin language.

The Life of JAMES TEMPLE, *Esq.*

JAMES TEMPLE, Esq. was a gentleman of Sussex, and of a branch of the ennobled family of that name; but who shall identify a Temple at this time? when Dr. Fuller assures us that Hester, the widowed lady of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, Bart., saw seven hundred descendants; and assures us he bought the truth of what he avers, by a wager he lost upon it.

He obtained a seat in the long parliament; and became a colonel in their army, and governor of Banbury Castle, in Sussex.

Having been appointed one of the commissioners in the pretended high court of justice, he sat January the 8th, 12th, 15th, 20th, 22d, 23rd, 27th, and 29th, in the Painted Chamber; and every day in Westminster Hall; and signed the warrant for executing this attempted-to-be-legalized murder.

After this shocking crime, we see nothing more of him until the restoration, when he surrendered himself, and was tried at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, October 16, 1660, and pleaded Not Guilty; but afterwards said,

"Prisoner. At the last time I pleaded to the "indictment Not Guilty; but I shall now desire "to see my hand; and if it be my hand, I must "confess all circumstances must follow". (The warrants being shewn him,) "I do confess it is

" my hand to both; I never did conſult concern-
" ing the court.

" Council. There are ſome worſe than he; but
" he is bad enough.

" The jury finding him guilty, the clerk aſked
" him what he had to ſay for himſelf, when he
" replied,

" P. My lord, I ſay no more; I beg the be-
" nefit of the proclamation."

Sentence was then pronounced; but he was ſuffered to remain in the Tower, where, it is ſuppoſed, he died.

The Myſtery of the Good Old Cauſe ſays, " he
" obtained the eſtate of Sir Charles Shelly, by an
" ordinance of the rump parliament, under an
" idea of his being grand-child of a papiſt; and
" poſſeſſed it without any due account of it, pre-
" tending his good ſervice. And upon the in-
" terruption of the rump, he took the King's
" Bench; and afterwards came out by the five-
" pound act." Of the truth of theſe particulars I cannot vouch. He appears to have been a very inconſiderable perſon in himſelf, deriving his conſequence alone from his fortune and family connections, and ſtill more from the diſtractions of the kingdom.

The many Temples in the parliament army makes it impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the actions of each; but, no doubt, Colonel Temple, ſent into Suſſex in 1642 to raiſe forces for the parliament in caſe the king ſhould bend his courſe that way,

was this regicide, who in 1646 had 500l. for his arrears voted him; and in 1648 the eſtate of Lord Lovelace was again ordered to be ſequeſtered, if he refuſed to pay 500l. to Colonel Temple as part of his arrears.

The Life of Sir PETER TEMPLE, *Knt. and Bart.*

Sir Peter Temple, Bart. was ſon and heir of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, in Buckinghamſhire, Bart. by Heſter, daughter of Miles Sandys, of Latimer, in Bucks, Eſq. and is the lady who had ſo many deſcendants.

King Charles I. knighted him June 6, 1641; and he ſerved for the town of Buckingham in the two laſt parliaments of that ſovereign, and went with his party all their lengths, both in the parliament and in the army; in which he was alſo a colonel, until the death of his majeſty was reſolved upon, when he wiſely declined ſerving any longer with them.

He fell into great embarraſſment in his fortune; and an ordinance paſſed relative to it, in conſequence of the petitions he, his lady, and creditors, had preſented to the houſe, which had been referred to a committee.

Sir Peter was twice married; his firſt lady was Ann, daughter and coheir of Sir Arthur Throgmorton, of Paleſbery, in Northamptonſhire, Knt. by whom he had only two daughters; Ann, married to Thomas Viſcount Baltinglaſs; and Martha, to Weſton, Earl of Londonderry. His ſecond lady was Chriſtian, daughter of Sir John Leveſon, Knt. and coheir of her brother, Sir Richard Leveſon, of Trentham, in Staffordſhire, Knight of the Bath; by whom he had Sir Richard Tem-

ple, his ſucceſſor, anceſtor of the Marquis of Buckingham; Frances, and Heſter.

One of theſe lady Temples Whitlock accuſes of being "a buſy woman, and a great politician "in her own opinion, who was made uſe of by "the Lord Say, to whom ſhe was allied, and by "the Lord Saville, to carry on ſome correſpon-"dence with the court at Oxford, to know whe-"ther Mr. Hollis, afterwards Lord Hollis, and "Mr. Whitlock had any ſecret communication "with the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of "Lindſey, or any others of the king's party, "which gave them ſome trouble."

The three brothers of Sir Peter were all warm parliamentarians. Colonel Sir John Temple, Knt. was one of the commiſſioners for Munſter, in Ireland: Thomas Temple, L. L. D. was voted by an ordinance of parliament to be "put into a par-"ſonage:" and Miles, the youngeſt, was in the army, and much diſtinguiſhed himſelf. The alliances of this family alſo all leaned to the republican intereſt.

The Life of PETER TEMPLE, *Esq.*

PETER TEMPLE, Esq. was a relation, probably a near one, of Sir Peter Temple, Bart. Having an elder brother, he served an apprenticeship to a linen draper in Friday Street, London; but this brother dying, he came into an estate of four hundred pounds a year, in the county of Leicester, near the town of that name; and obtained a seat in the long parliament as one of its members; and joining with the other representative, Sir Arthur Heselrigge, in all their extravagances, became a committee-man for that shire, and had a commission in the army; but he rose no higher than a captain of horse.

He was put in amongst the king's judges; and so inveterate was he against his degraded sovereign, that he omitted only two days attendance at his pretended trial, the 12th and 13th; and he also signed the warrant for the completion of the tragedy.

He was excepted out of the act of indemnity; and having surrendered himself, was brought to his trial with his relative, James Temple, Esq.

At his arraignment, he pleaded Not Guilty; but at his trial said,

" Prisoner. When I was here the last time, I

" pleaded Not Guilty—the reaſon was, becauſe " there are divers things in the indictment that " my conſcience tells me I am not guilty of: for " I had not a malicious or traitorous heart againſt " the king. To ſave your lordſhips' time, I will " confeſs what I am guilty of: I was in the court, " ſat there; if I ſee my hand, I ſhall confeſs it.

" Council. Were you there when ſentence was " given?

" P. Yes, Sir.

" Council. Shew him the warrants.

(Which being ſhewn him, he ſaid,)

" P. I acknowledge they are my hand, and " refer it to your lordſhip."

Being convicted, and aſked if he could give any reaſon why ſentence ſhould not paſs, he ſaid

" P. My lord, I came in upon the proclama- " tion, and I humbly beg the benefit of it."

Sentence then paſſed upon him; but no execution followed, his life being given; but he remained a priſoner until his death.

The character given of this regicide is, that of an ignorant opinionative perſon, and who was entirely the tool of Cromwell. Happy would it have been, had his brother lived, and he had continued to ſell out the articles of his trade; or when that event did happen, that he had gone down and cultivated a part of the family eſtate, leaving the intricacies of politics to perſons every way better qualified. It is allowed that he was brave; but he ſeems to have been buſy only to

his own injury, and riſked his life in the field only for the aggrandizement of others.

I have ſeen nothing of his marriage; nor do I know whether he left any family.

The Life of FRANCIS THORP, *Esq.*

FRANCIS THORP, Esq. was a native of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and called to the bar; but as very many of those of the Inns in court took up arms, he went to the parliament side, and became a colonel in their army: laying down the sword, he went again to his peaceable avocation.

The junto expected, as he had fought in their cause, he would also act in their high court of justice: but this he utterly declined, though a serjeant of the parliament's calling, in Oct. 1648. This raised, not lessened, his character with them; and after the wicked deed, he was placed by them upon the bench, being made a baron of the exchequer; in which capacity he also was employed by the protector Oliver.

He had been receiver of Yorkshire, which was very lucrative; and accused of detaining 25,000l. These patriots were true friends to home, sacrificing most devoutly to their household gods.

The Life of ROBERT TICHBORNE, *Esq.*

ROBERT TICHBORNE, Esq. was, it is supposed, descended from those of Hampshire, who were Lords Ferrards, of Ireland, and possessed a baronetage in England.

He was a linen-draper in the city; but forsaking his certain, but slow, means of advancing himself, he launched out into all the wildness of political subtilty; and at length was lost in that labyrinth, from which he could not extricate himself.

In this new situation he passed through all the various scenes the time presented: he was a colonel in the parliament army, lieutenant, under General Fairfax, of the Tower; and commanded the city of London as he pleased.

Young, headstrong, violent, and unequal to the task of discrimination, he thought himself honoured, rather than disgraced, by being named one of the king's judges; and after presenting a petition from the common council of London for the king's trial, he omitted no opportunity to shew his devoir to those who led him on in his outrage to all that was just and even decent; and he was absent only on the 12th and 13th days of January; and he signed the warrant for his majesty's public slaughter.

Certainly his consequence as a leading man in the city, after this shame to our annals, was so

very great, that he was appointed of the committee of ſtate in 1655, knighted by the protector Oliver, made one of his lords; and proving true to that intereſt, wiſhed for the reſtoration of Richard; yet he was named one of the council of ſtate, and of ſafety, for 1659; but the reſtoration approaching, he fell from his height in the city to a priſoner in the Tower; at which time he was extremely unpopular, as one who had ſat in that high court of juſtice which had condemed Dr. Hewit.

He was arraigned at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, Oct. 10, 1660; when he ſaid to the court,

" P. My lord, I have been a very cloſe priſoner, " without any advice: I am altogether unable in " law to ſpeak.

" Court. You know the courſe hath been de- " livered to you by others; I will not trouble you " with it. It is neither long nor ſhort; the law " requires your anſwer—Guilty or Not Guilty?

" P. Spare me but one word. If upon the " trial there ſhall appear to be matter of law, ſhall " I have the liberty of council for it? If I ſhall " put in my own caſe to plead matter of law " againſt thoſe noble perſons who plead on the " other part, I ſhall but prejudice myſelf; and, " therefore, I crave council.

" Court. You muſt plead guilty, or not guilty.

" P. I have no reaſon nor deſign to diſpleaſe " you. I am ſure I am no ways able to plead " with equalneſs, in point of law, with theſe " noble gentlemen. To the matter of fact, this

" is my plea: in manner and form that I ſtand " indicted, I am not guilty."

The uſual forms being gone through with, he was brought up for trial, October the 16th; when addreſſing the court, he ſaid,

" P. My lord, when I firſt pleaded to the in- " dictment, it was, in manner and form, not " guilty, as I ſtood indicted. My lord, it was not " then in my heart either to deny or juſtifie any " tittle of the matter of fact. My lord, the matter " that I was led into by ignorance my conſcience " leads me to acknowledge; but, my lord, if I " ſhould have ſaid guilty, in manner and form as " I ſtood indicted, I was fearful I ſhould have " charged my own conſcience, as then knowingly " or maliciouſly to act it. My lord, it was my " unhappineſs to be called to ſo ſad a work, when " I had ſo few years over my head; a perſon nei- " ther bred up in the laws, nor in parliaments " where laws are made. I can ſay with a clear " conſcience, I had no more enmity in my heart " to his majeſty, than I had to my wife that lay " in my boſom. My lord, I ſhall ſay nothing: " after I was ſummoned, I think truly I was at " moſt of the meetings; and I do not ſay this that " I did not intend to ſay it before; but preſerving " that ſalvo to my own conſcience, that I did not " maliciouſly and knowingly do it, I think I am " bound in conſcience to own it. As I do not " deny but I was there, ſo truly I do believe I " did ſign the inſtrument; and had I known that " then which I do now, (I do not mean, my lord,

" my afflictions and ſufferings; it is not my ſuf-
" ferings make me acknowledge,) I would have
" choſen a red hot oven to have gone into as ſoon
" as that meeting. I bleſs God I do this neither
" out of fear, nor hopes of favour; though the
" penalty that may attend this acknowledgment
" may be grievous, my lord, I do acknowledge
" the matter of fact, and do ſolemnly proteſt I
" was led into it for want of years. I do not
" juſtify either the act or the perſon; I was ſo
" unhappy then as to be ignorant, and I hope
" ſhall not now (ſince I have more light) juſtify
" that which I was ignorant of; I am ſure my
" heart was without malice: if I had been only
" aſked in matter of fact at firſt, I ſhould have
" ſaid the ſame; I have ſeen a little. The great
" God before whom we all ſtand hath ſhewn his
" tender mercy to perſons upon repentance: Paul
" tells us, though a blaſphemer and a perſecutor
" of Chriſt, it being done ignorantly, upon repen-
" tance he found mercy. My lord, mercy I have
" found, and I do not doubt mercy I ſhall find.
" My lord, I came in upon the proclamation;
" and now I am here, I have in truth given your
" lordſhip a clear and full account, whatever the
" law ſhall pronounce, becauſe I was ignorant.
" Yet I hope there will be room found for that
" mercy and grace that, I think, was intended by
" the proclamation, and I hope by the parliament
" of England. I ſhall ſay no more; but in plead-
" ing of that, humbly beg that your lordſhips will

" be inſtrumental to the king and parliament on " that behalf.

" Council. We ſhall give no evidence againſt " the priſoner: he ſays he did it ignorantly; and " I hope and do believe he is penitent; and as far " as the parliament thinks fit to ſhew mercy, I " ſhall be very glad."

The jury brought in their verdict, Guilty.

The lord chief baron, in his charge to the jury, ſaid, " that as for alderman Tichbourne, he hath " ſpoken very fully, and truly very conſcientiouſly " —upon the whole matter acknowledges his ig- " norance, his ſorrow, his conviction in point of " conſcience; and I beſeech God Almighty to " incline his heart more and more to repentance. " They that crucified Chriſt (to uſe his own " words) through ignorance, found mercy."

His penitence, real or pretended, ſaved him from being one of thoſe ſelected for more public examples; which, perhaps, he ran ſome riſk of by having at firſt withdrawn from the ſerjeant at arms, though afterwards he went and again ſurrendered himſelf.

The Life of MATTHEW TOMLINSON, *Esq.*

MATTHEW TOMLINSON, Esq. was of a very ancient family in Yorkshire, who engaging in the parliament quarrel, rose to a considerable figure in their army. He obtained the rank of colonel of horse: in that situation he frequently shewed himself a bold and resolute officer; and in every respect he evinced how much he disliked both the sovereign and monarchy.

The parliament, when garbled, named him one of the king's judges; and he attended the twenty-second and twenty-seventh days of January in Westminster Hall; and in the Painted Chamber the latter of those days; and he signed the warrant for the execution of this ill-fated monarch; and, what added much to his turpitude, he guarded the devoted sovereign during his trial, and until led forth to execution.

He served in Scotland in 1651, was of the council of state in 1653, and during the protectorates, was with difficulty that he was kept to act with the Cromwells; but at length submitting to what he never approved, he was in one of Oliver's parliaments; sent to Ireland; knighted by Henry Cromwell, lord deputy, who heartily despised him; made one of Oliver's peers; and upon the return of the long parliament, after Richard's ab-

dication, made a commiſſioner of Ireland; but to get him out of that kingdom, to prepare the people for the reſtoration of the king, he was accuſed of high treaſon.

But he who ought to have been one of the firſt ſacrifices to the manes of the late king, through the intereſt of a noble lord, obtained his pardon, under a pretence that the royal ſufferer had received a more gentle uſage under him than the preceding goaler, though it was well known to be otherwiſe; for every poſſible indignity was ſhewn to him whilſt in his hands; but he purchaſed life dearer than a man of honour would have done, being obliged to bear teſtimony againſt his fellow regicides at their trials.

No man perhaps felt his humiliation more; none deſerved commiſſeration leſs.

He was ſuffered to die in an obſcure contempt, but when and where I have not ſeen; but probably in Yorkſhire.

In a note of a memoir I had the honour of preſenting to the Society of Antiquaries, it appears that he had the ribband and, it is thought, medal of the order of the garter the king wore when he was put to death. The former was given by him to his ſiſter, who became the wife of judge Twiſden; and is now preſerved by that family *.

* Another of Colonel Tomlinſon's brothers-in-law was Mr. Thomas Carnaby, quarter maſter to Captain Strangeway: in 1657 General Monk recommended him to the protector Oliver.

This gentleman was a moſt confirmed republican, which was his firſt principle, and upon that ſtock he engrafted avarice and power, and they brought forth to him a very plentiful harveſt.

The Life of JOHN TRENCHARD, *Esq.*

JOHN TRENCHARD, Esq. was descended of a very ancient and knightly family in Dorsetshire, of which he was appointed a committee-man, and a member of parliament for the borough of Wareham, in that county, in the two last parliaments of King Charles I.

He joined the parliament; I think was in the army, and he certainly was appointed by them governor of Wareham. The parliamentary minions put him in the commission to try his royal master; but this he entirely avoided, and thereby saved himself and his estates.

This gentleman had a family, and from his public situation was enabled to provide for them. He married one of his daughters to W. Bingham, Esq. the other to John Sydenham, Esq. for whom he procured colonels' commissions of both horse and foot, seats in the parliament; the former to be appointed governor of Pool, with a grant of 1000l. the other, governor of Weymouth, of Melcomb Regis, and commander in chief of Dorsetshire; and who rose to be one of Oliver's lords, &c., &c.

Few families were more generally, or more

deſervedly, diſliked than that of Trenchard's, from their very ſcandalous and mean peculations and plunderings, their knavery and perfidiouſneſs.

He, in conjunction with Richard Roſe, Eſq. obtained the property of the loyaliſts; by this ſtratagem they went and hired lodings for malignants, as they termed them, at high rates, and obtained ſuch as had very coſtly furniture, which were deemed ſafe, becauſe they were members of parliament; and then ſeizing the property, ſecured it for themſelves, as belonging to ſuch obnoxious proſcribed characters. In this way they got Mr. Bailey's, who had been glazier to his majeſty; but he, with a prudent perſeverance, taking advantage of their diſagreement in ſharing their plunder which belonged to him, recovered it.

His brother, Thomas Trenchard, of Wolveton, Eſq. member for Bridport, was, if poſſible, more infamous; for marrying his daughter to a gentleman who lay under the dreadful ſtigma of being a delinquent, he gave him ſecurity for the payment of twelve hundred pounds, as her marriage portion, beſides promiſing to befriend him in parliament: but inſtead of this, he procures his ſon-in-law's eſtate to be ſequeſtered, diſcovers the debt, and obtains it himſelf for his fidelity to the ſtate. Such was the honour of men, who could not ſpeak, upon the moſt trivial occaſions, without uſing the name of God, nor ſet about

any wickedneſs without aſking his fatherly protection, ſupport, and aſſiſtance; and flattered their depraved hearts that they were full of the Holy Spirit!

The Life of JOHN VENN, *Esq.*

JOHN VENN, Esq. was a silk-man in London, but whose business was supposed not to be good, which, making him discontented, he went into the army, and rose to the rank of colonel, was appointed governor of Windsor Castle, had the sum of 4000l. granted him for supposed losses, which probably he never had experienced.

He was appointed one of his sovereign's judges, and took a most decisive part against the fallen monarch, omitting only January the 19th, and 24th, from sitting upon his mock trial, and he signed the infamous instrument to finish the wickedness.

His government of Windsor had given him great consequence, as well from the strength of the place, as it being the sanctuary of blasphemous hypocrisy, where all the worst of a vile faction met to deliberate upon their actions, and to pray for the completion of their diabolical schemes. This situation too afforded him opportunities of plundering the neighbourhood, and embezzling the royal furniture, such as hangings, linen, and bedding.

The superiors in the army put him upon such services that would have disgusted more honourable persons, dispatching him with the pressed men, for this was not illegal in the land service with these defenders of liberty; but his conduct

was ſo imperious to theſe unhappy people, that they revolted at Farnham, in their way to General Fairfax, but were ſoon ſuppreſſed.

Soon after the king's violent death, he fell into great neglect, living privately upon the plunder he had obtained.

The parliament at the reſtoration would have included him in the utmoſt penalties of the laws againſt traitors, but juſt at the moment, it was given out by his family that he died; many thought from the ſuddenneſs of his exit, that he had deſtroyed himſelf; if not, it is moſt probable that he ſecreted himſelf ſo artfully, that he eſcaped the vigilance of thoſe who would gladly have had him made a public example. His name, however, is in the exceptive clauſe, ſo that government ſeized his property.

The Life of Sir HARDRESS WALLER, *Knt.*

SIR HARDRESS WALLER, Knt. was ſon and heir of George Waller, of Groombridge, in Kent, Eſq. by Mary, daughter of Richard Hardreſs, Eſq.

He had long been a confidential ſervant of the crown in Ireland, and had been employed againſt the rebels in that kingdom. Upon his return to England, he declared in favour of the parliament, and drew his ſword in their quarrel; he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that he roſe from a colonel to be a major-general. He had great influence in Kent, of which he was a committee man.

His valour was conſpicuous at Baſing Houſe, where he was wounded; and here the parliamentary army exerciſed great cruelties, as their own partizans own; in the year 1645, we find him appearing in General Fairfax's army, and always with diſtinguiſhed reputation.

So eminent had his ſervices been, and ſuch reliance was placed in him in the beginning of the year 1646, that he was ſent with Lieutenant-general Cromwell to London to adviſe with the parliament.

A vote paſſed the houſe of commons in January 1646-7, to give him the ſum of 2000l. as part of his arrears. He was appointed one of the commiſſioners of the army in the month of July following to treat with thoſe of the parliament; for,

at that time, thoſe who had been raiſed and paid by the latter, in their turn began to look upon themſelves as their equals, and ſoon after as their ſuperiors, a circumſtance extremely natural, for one kind of uſurpation always begets another; the parliament had aſſumed the executive government, becauſe they found themſelves ſtronger than the king, and the army finding itſelf more powerful than either, became the tyrants of both.

He, with Colonel Whalley, was deputed to preſent the ſtate of the army as drawn up by the general and council of officers, and deſired that it might be read in the parliament; this was early in December; it contained a defence, and demanding ſuch pay and ſuch regulations, as they thought proper to aſk, which was only another word to inſiſt upon what they wanted.

As if this was not ſufficient, he came again with another addreſs, attended with ſeveral other colonels, with other officers of *quality*, to the parliament, in January 1647-8, to declare that the rights and liberties of the nation had been ſo much violated by the king, that they were reſolved to ſtand by the parliament, and thought that all farther addreſſes to his majeſty were uſeleſs, and wiſhed for ſettling and ſecuring the parliament and kingdom without "the king, and againſt him, or any "other, that ſhould afterwards partake with him." The intent of this was to ſhew the king the deſperate ſituation of his own affairs, and to offer himſelf implicitly to them, as Ireton ſaid to his majeſty, "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator

"between the parliament and us, and we mean to "be ſo between you and the parliament." So much was the change of the army's ſentiments from what they at firſt ſet forth.

In the following March, whilſt at the head of a diviſion of the army, which was ſerving in the weſt, he publiſhed a declaration, to gain the good opinion of the people, and obtain a maintenance for the army, ſetting forth to the counties of Devon and Cornwall the honour and juſtice of the parliament and their general in diſtributing the army ſo, as to ſave the people, and keep them from living at free quarters, and therefore hoped they would pay the aſſeſſments, ordered by parliament, for their maintenance.

When in a ſeparate command in this part of England, he won great reputation, obtaining the victory at Bow, in Devonſhire, in January 1645, and Exmouth Fort, March 16, 1645-6; for his ſervices, in March 1648, the parliament appointed him governor of Pendennis Caſtle in Cornwall.

The parliament, in June, ordered him to permit no new forces to be raiſed in Devon and Cornwall, but to make uſe of the trained bands there. The following month the parliament voted that the general ſhould recall his orders for his leaving the weſt, as it was not ſafe, and that his brigade ſhould be paid.

Whilſt he was employed in this ſervice, he was near loſing his government of Pendennis, by a ſcheme to deliver it up to the king, but it was

discovered time enough to prevent its taking effect.

He came up to the army, and was in all their deliberations relative to publicly destroying the monarch, having perceived that the parliament, alarmed at their new masters, would have been happy to put themselves again under their old one, judging it more prudent to have one governor than a multifarious army: the latter might help themselves, the former must ask for his subsistence. He demeaned himself with personally going to seize the sturdy Prynne, the champion of "a free parliament, with a free king at the head "of it."

He having been named, in what he had so much contributed to plan, the high court of justice, very constantly attended to keep all the minor instruments true to the army, and encourage them with his presence; he was never absent during the whole business, except January the 24th, and he acted seemingly with the same ease in adjudging his sovereign, whose person was inviolable, as he would at a court martial held upon the meanest soldier in his army, and doomed him to slaughter with as little compunction. It is almost needless to say, that he signed and sealed the fatal warrant.

The parliament then sent him into Ireland, whither he before had been; here victory attended his standard, and he was an eminent and dreadful instrument in punishing a sinful people; their crimes had been enormous, and so were their chastisements; it is painful to read of the devasta-

tion of the poor deluded, infatuated Roman Catholics, or, as they were often called, the Tories.

He complied with the change in the government in favour of Oliver, and was greatly promoted by him as well as truſted, and he obtained in Ireland a very fine eſtate, out of that land from whence he had diſpoſſeſſed the original inhabitants. In the beginning of April 1656 the council in Ireland preſented a petition from him to his highneſs; and Henry Cromwell, major-general of the army in that kingdom, writes in conſequence of it to Secretary Thurloe, that he thought he had *ſummum jus* in the ſetting out of his land, and ſaid, "if you pleaſe to put in a good word "for him to his highneſs, you will both oblige "him and me;" in the next packet the ſecretary tells him "I ſhall with all my heart ſerve "Sir Hardreſs Waller in his buſineſs."

Henry, then become lord deputy himſelf, February 13, 1657-8, ſpeaks highly of him to the protector, that he had long ſtood at a ſtay as to any kind of preferment; and even the grant of lands which was long ſince given him, as a compenſation for his arrears, though it had been intended for an advantage, proved otherwiſe, which had thrown him into ſome melancholy, becauſe he had received no preferment in the ſeveral changes which had lately happened, "although," continues he, "(conſidering the humerſome "temper of men at this time,) he had ſome rea-"ſon to reſent his condition, yet I have obſerved "him to bear your highneſſs' pleaſure ſo evenly,

" that I am more moved with that his quiet and " decent carriage, than I could by any clamor or " importunity to give him this ſpecial recom- " mendation to your highneſs."

We here ſee how much he was befriended by the protector's younger ſon Henry; yet, when Richard, the ſucceſſor of Oliver, was ruined in England, and the commiſſioners of Ireland were deſirous of gaining the caſtle of Dublin, poſſeſſed by Henry, did they employ him, to eject his friend by violence from it, and he finding, ſays Ludlow, the intereſt of his benefactor decline, and that of the parliament increaſe, very willingly attempted it, by entering by a poſtern into the caſtle; but he was ſaved the bluſh of capturing Henry by his readineſs in reſigning it.

He had remained governor of Dublin Caſtle but a very little time, before another change happened, the loyal party ſucceeded the republican, as that had the protectorial, and by this, he was not only deprived of his government, but alſo of his regiment; the former was effected by the ſame mean he had uſed againſt Henry Cromwell, the lord-lieutenant, but with better ſucceſs, for thoſe who were won by Sir Charles Coote in the garriſon to deliver it up, gave their commander into his hands.

In a little time however, through the interceſſion of his relation, Sir William Waller, he obtained permiſſion to go over to England, when preſenting himſelf before the council of ſtate, which had power of impriſoning or enlarging whomſo-

ever they pleaſed, they accepted an engagement from him, to appear upon ſummons, and he was diſcharged from confinement.

Alarmed at his ſituation, and unknowing where to ſhelter himſelf, when he ſaw that the judges of the late king were proſcribed by the parliament, he withdrew into France; but irreſolute, and fearing the certain loſs of all his great eſtates, and perhaps his perſon being delivered up, he returned, and ſurrendered himſelf; but finding that all concerned in that wicked act would be proceeded againſt to the greateſt extremity, he and Alderman Titchborne withdrew from the ſerjeant at arms; but, after duly weighing the critical ſtate of their affairs, they both came in, and ſurrendering themſelves again, were ſent to the Tower.

He was arraigned at the Seſſions Houſe in the Old Bailey, October 10, 1660; when, inſtead of directly anſwering guilty or not guilty, he ſaid,

" Priſoner. My lords, I dare not ſay not " guilty; but ſince that in a buſineſs of this na- " ture we have no council or advice, and being " not able to ſpeak to matter of law—

" Lord Chief Baron. I am loath to interrupt " you; but this is the courſe; you have heard " the indictment read, and the courſe is, you " muſt plead guilty or not guilty. There is no " medium. Guilty or not guilty. It is that " which is the law, and the caſe of all men. Are " you guilty or not guilty?"

" P. I may confeſs myſelf guilty of ſome " particulars in the indictment, but not of all;

" for ſo inſtead of diſcharging, I ſhall wound my " conſcience."

" Clerk. Are you guilty or not guilty?"

" P. If I might have that liberty to—

" Court. You have that liberty that any ſub- " ject of the nation can have or can challenge. " No man ſtanding at the bar in that condition " you are, muſt make any other anſwer to the " indictment than guilty or not guilty; it's the " common caſe of all men. Your confeſſion " muſt be plain and direct, either guilty or not " guilty."

" P. My lord, I do deſire ſome time to con- " ſider of it, for it is a great ſurprizal."

" Court. You have had time enough to con- " ſider of it; you muſt follow the directions of " the court, guilty or not guilty? you muſt not " thus diſcourſe of being ſurprized; for theſe " diſcourſes are contrary to all proceedings of " this nature."

" Clerk. How ſay you, Sir Hardreſs Waller? " are you guilty or not guilty?"

" P. I dare not ſay not guilty."

" Clerk. Will you confeſs then?"

" P. I would be glad to be underſtood.

" Court. Your plea muſt be direct. Guilty or " not guilty."

" P. Shall I be heard, my lord?"

" Court. Yes, upon your trial. There are " but two ways; plead not guilty, or confeſs it. " Sir Hardreſs Waller, we would not have you to " be deceived. If you confeſs and ſay you are

" guilty, there is nothing then but judgment ;
" if you ſay not guilty, then you ſhall be heard
" with your evidence. Conſider with yourſelf.
" Plead not guilty, or confeſs and ſay you are
" guilty."

" P. My lord, it puts me upon a great con-
" teſt with myſelf, I ſhall be very free to open
" my heart

" Court. Sir, you muſt plead guilty or not
" guilty."

" P. My lord, my condition differs from
" others. I am a ſtranger, I have been thirty
" years tranſplanted in Ireland, which has made
" me unacquainted with the affairs of the law
" here."

" Court. You muſt keep the courſe of the
" law, either guilty or not guilty. There is but
" one of theſe two pleas to be made."

" P. I dare not ſay not guilty."

" Court. There are but three things to be
" conſidered, either you muſt ſay guilty, which
" is confeſſion, and then there remains no more
" but judgment ; or, not guilty, and then you
" ſhall be heard ; or judgment will paſs for your
" ſtanding mute, which is all one as if you con-
" feſſed."

" P. Inaſmuch as I have ſaid I dare not ſay
" not guilty, I muſt ſay guilty."

" Clerk. You ſay you are guilty ? you confeſs
" the indictment ?"

" P. Yes."

After the arraignment of Major-general Har-

riſon and Mr. Heveningham, Sir Hardreſs preſented his petition to the court, directed to the king's majeſty and the parliament, which was received, but not read at that court; and then he, and the two other regicide priſoners were diſmiſſed, until they ſhould be brought up for trial. On the 16th of the ſame month he was again ſet at the bar, and the clerk ſaid, "Hardreſs Waller, "hold up thy hand, thou haſt been indicted and "found guilty of high treaſon, what canſt thou "ſay, why judgment ſhould not paſs on thee to "die according to law?"

"P. My lords, I am now, it ſeems, convicted "by law, and ſo adjudged. Your lordſhips the "other day, on my deſire, told me I might have "liberty to ſpeak upon my trial, I muſt now beg "the like upon a condemned perſon."

"Lord Chief Baron. You are convicted, not "condemned."

"P. My lords, I was the firſt that pleaded "guilty; I bleſs God that he gave me a heart to "do it, I find moſt peace in doing it, and ſince "there is nothing left but hopes of mercy, I "humbly ſubmit it to your lordſhips to hear me "in this ſad condition, that, that may make me "ſeem more capable of mercy. I have, my "lords, been ſo unhappy to have been tranſ-"planted out of my country theſe thirty years; "I have been but once theſe eleven years in "England, this muſt needs make me a ſtranger."

"Lord Chief Baron. I muſt not hinder you "becauſe it is for mercy that you plead, but con-

" ſider with yourſelf whether it will not be bet-
" ter to give in a petition; I leave it to you; we
" can do nothing in point of mercy, but judg-
" ment."

" P. Only this, my lord, whether I am not
" the more capable of your mercy?"

" Lord Chief Baron. That you may under-
" ſtand it, the act of indemnity of parliament
" hath excepted you; yet upon ſome qualifica-
" tions we are to proceed according to law, that
" is, to go to conviction and judgment. The
" act ſays, that after judgment there ſhall be no
" execution, but it ſhall be ſuſpended till a far-
" ther act of parliament to be paſſed for that
" purpoſe, ſo that in the mean time we are to pro-
" ceed no further than judgment. That which
" concerns mercy is referred to another place.
" If you pleaſe to ſay any thing to ſatisfy us, or
" to go by way of petition, it may be left to you,
" but what you ſay for mercy is nothing to us."

" P. I humbly thank your lordſhips for this
" clear and noble dealing, and withal, I would
" beg, that theſe people that are witneſſes of my
" ſhame and guilt, may know that it was a force
" and temptation upon me; I ſhall not inſiſt
" much, I have ſaid that I did plead guilty,
" which was moſt ſafe to my own conſcience;
" yet I ſhould make it appear that I did appear
" more to preſerve the king upon trial, and ſen-
" tence than any other."

" Lord Finch. Sir Hardreſs Waller, I have
" heard of late of your ſorrow, which I was glad

" to hear of, becauſe you are my kinſman, both " by your father and mother's ſide, and alſo my " countryman; I was glad to hear of your great " penitence of that horrid crime, and I would " have been glad to have ſeen it now; adviſe " with yourſelf, whether you do yourſelf any " good in ſpeaking to extenuate, when you know " there is no man againſt whom there are ſuch " circumſtances of aggravation as againſt you; " conſider whether a public penitence would not " be more proper."

" P. I beſeech you report me both to his " majeſty and parliament, and receive me into " your grace, as being penitent, truly penitent: " to ſay ſo now were a ſmall thing, for the fear " of the puniſhment may procure it; but I have " been more penitent when no eye hath ſeen me " but God, when I never imagined to be queſ- " tioned for this ſin, then my heart hath yearned " in the buſineſs; but I ſhall not trouble your " lordſhips; God holds forth mercy, his majeſty " holds forth mercy, the parliament holds forth " mercy. My lords, let me ſay ſomething to " you (though it be but a word,) of the vio- " lence and force of temptations; you may have " been under it; Chriſt himſelf was under it; " we find that faithful Abraham by the power of " temptation, delivered up his wife to commit " adultery, which ſcarce a heathen would; we " find that valiant Peter denied his maſter; " righteous Lot committed inceſt. None ab- " hors this fact more than I do; I have done it ſo

" long beforehand, I need not be afraid to ſpeak " it in the face of the judge of all men; that is " all I ſhall ſay. I rendered myſelf three time; " I had as much opportunity to make my eſcape " as any perſon whatſoever."

" Lord Chief Baron. It is underſtood, Sir " Hardreſs."

Judgment was pronounced againſt him, and he was ſent back again to the Tower, where probably he died, but when, I have not learnt.

Mr. Ludlow ſays, " he was known to be a man " that would ſay any thing to ſave his life, and " was prepared to that purpoſe;" but this gentleman when he ſpeaks of his fellow regicides, is not intirely to be credited, and ſtill leſs when he ſpeaks of their trials; if they ſhew any compunction for the crime in which he gloried, they are treated with great ſeverity by him; that he well knew Sir Hardreſs both in perſon and mind is not to be doubted; but the fact of his being prepared to confeſs his crime, by no means appears, but ſeems abſolutely untrue; otherwiſe, he would from the firſt have done it, would not have wanted Lord Finch, his relation, to have reminded him what was beſt in his ſituation to do.

That he was a very deceitful, baſe character, is undoubted; he had been untrue and treacherous to every party; and had there been ten times as many, and they each had become uppermoſt, he would have declared for them. Nothing could be more prepoſterous, nor more vile than his telling his judges, that he had more than any

other ſtrove to prevent ſentence and execution againſt his wretchedly degraded maſter, whom gratitude ought to have bound him to, when it is known to all, that he was one of the five commiſſioners who were appointed to conſider of the time and place of his majeſty's public murder.

As to his excuſe in being out of the kingdom of England for ſo long a time, and only once returned into it for eleven years; it was a moſt idle and fooliſh preſumption to think it would one moment be attended to. Not to ſay that he had forgotten that he had been twice here within that time; did it ſignify in what part of the Britiſh dominions he was? the laws of uſurpers were not the laws of the conſtitution; they remained the ſame as when he left England; and by what law was the murder of his ſovereign ſanctioned? If thoſe who infamouſly united with him in making this ſacrifice for their own aggrandizement, can be pleaded as making it lawful, in the ſame manner can a gang of pickpockets and cutthroats legalize all their enormities by the laws they vote amongſt themſelves.

His bringing in the examples of patriarchs and ſaints having been overcome by temptations, would make one believe that he had ſtrove throughout his life to apologize for his tergiverſations, treacheries, and vile actions of various kinds, by ſatisfying his mind that he only copied the greateſt names in committing ſuch ſins that ſacred hiſtory tells us many holy men had been

betrayed into; not conſidering that ſin was a diſgrace to every character, and that had theſe men continued in their vices they would have been remembered with deteſtation, but that they were awakened to a ſenſe of ſhame and religious ſorrow for their tranſgreſſions, and had in conſequence of it, behaved with redoubled piety and prudence in future.

As to his ſecret repentence, it is doubtful, he might ſometimes have been alarmed by the calls of conſcience and the fear of puniſhment; but repentance cannot be genuine, cannot be efficacious, unleſs the ſinner ſtrives to make a reparation for the injuries individuals or ſociety at large have ſuſtained. Did he attempt to ſerve the ſon of that ſovereign he had baſely murdered? did he attempt to reſtore peace to that country, which he had aſſiſted to deluge in blood? or attempt to re-eſtabliſh that religion and thoſe laws he had ſucceſsfully overturned?

Upon the whole conſideration of this knight's hiſtory, it may be allowed with great juſtice that there were few better or more fortunate commanders in an age of arms than he was, nor few more infamouſly deceitful or treacherous men, in a period when human nature was more diſgraced by thoſe paſſions than at any other, during a long ſucceſſion of ages.

Sir Hardreſs married Elizabeth, ſecond daughter, and coheireſs of Sir John Dowdall, and by this lady had a family. Bridget, one of his daughters, was married to Henry Cadogan, Eſq.

counſellor at law, father, by her, of William, Earl of Cadogan; this marriage was in conſequence of William Cadogan, Eſq. Henry's father, being a military man in Ireland, acting with Sir Hardreſs. Mary, another of the daughters, married John Brookes, Eſq. of York, created by King Charles II. June 13, 1676, a baronet.

The Life of ROBERT WALLOP, *Esq.*

Robert Wallop, Esq. was descended of a very ancient, rich, and knightly family, whose chief seat then was Farley-Wallop, in the county of Southampton; he was only son of Sir Henry Wallop, Knt. by Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Robert Corbet, of Morton Corbet, in Shropshire, Esq.

He was born July 20, 1601, and succeeding to his father's estate, acquired all that eminent consequence which his ancestors had possessed in the county, where they principally resided. He was returned one of the members to represent the borough of Andover, in the parliament called by King James I. in the twenty-first year of his reign; and knight of the shire in the two first parliaments which met in the first year of the reign of King Charles I.; and during the remainder of that reign he was constantly elected for Andover.

His prejudices against King Charles appeared before his going into the long parliament, by his refusing to contribute towards carrying on a war, in which it is evident the Scotch were the aggressors. Yet his majesty, though he had gone to some lengths against him, had that confidence in his honour, that he said to the parliament he should be willing to put the militia into his hands, with many noblemen, and others, upon such terms

as his commiſſioners at Uxbridge had agreed upon; yet this was rejected, though he, Cromwell, and ſome others in the end proved the moſt determined enemies his majeſty had. This was in 1645, and at that time things had not become ſo criminal, even in imagination, except by a very few, as they afterwards did.

Conſtantly joining in all the ſubſequent votes againſt the king, he was named by the army junto one of the pretended judges, and he complied ſo much with their deſires, as to ſit in the Painted Chamber January the 15th and 22d, and in Weſtminſter Hall the ſame day and the following; but he did not ſign the warrant, as a cloſe to the wicked fact.

This gentleman, whoſe family had for ſuch a ſucceſſion of ages been loyal ſubjects, confidential ſervants to their ſovereigns, and had been ſo greatly enriched by them, was ſo entirely eſtranged from his duty, from a proper regard for the laws and conſtitution of his country, that no man more violently went into the ſcheme of ſubſtituting a republic in the room of that monarchy, to which he was beholden for all thoſe great advantages which he poſſeſſed.

The commonwealth elected him one of the council of ſtate in 1649 and 1650; he was ſo conſiſtent, that he ſubmitted to Cromwell's government with very great reluctance, always ſhewing his determined preference to a republic, and he willingly aſſiſted in the ruin of the Cromwellian intereſt, to reſtore that which he ſo much pre-

ferred, as a proof of his ſentiments and courage, I ſhall give an anecdote of him from Ludlow.

When Cromwell wiſhed to form a ſemblance of a parliament to give him the government, it was a particular object to him to keep out Sir Henry Vane; and he did prevent his being returned at Hull and Briſtol, though it was ſaid he had the majority of votes; but Mr. Wallop recommended him to, and he was choſen by, the borough of Whitchurch, in the county of Southampton, which, ſays Mr. Ludlow, "ſo enraged "the court faction, that they ſent a menacing "letter to him, which was ſubſcribed by moſt of "the juſtices of the peace for the county, to let "him know that they would oppoſe his election "for the ſhire, if he perſiſted to recommend Sir "Henry Vane to the choice of the people. But "Mr. Wallop deſpiſing their threatenings, con-"tinued to aſſiſt Sir Henry Vane, and he was "choſen for the county in deſpite of them."

After the deſtruction of the Cromwellian intereſt, he ſhewed his ſincere zeal for that of the long parliament, as the ſupport of the republic, and they, to manifeſt their gratitude, procured him a ſeat in 1659, in their council of ſtate; and in the following December he having aſſiſted, with others, in ſecuring Portſmouth, received their thanks for the good and important ſervices he had rendered them.

At the reſtoration he fell into the univerſal contempt of all men, and the parliament excepted

him from receiving any benefit of his eſtate, and ſubjected him to ſuch farther puniſhment, as ſhould be inflicted upon him, and being brought up to the bar of the houſe of commons, with Lord Monſon and Sir Henry Mildmay, after being obliged to confeſs his guilt, he was ſentenced to be degraded from his gentility, drawn upon a ſledge to and under the gallows at Tyburn, with a halter round his neck, and be impriſoned for life; which humiliating ſentence was ſolemnly executed upon him on January 30, 1662, it being the next anniverſary of the king's murder.

It is wonderful why he ſhould have undergone this ſentence more than very many others, whoſe crimes were of the ſame deep nature, unleſs there were ſome peculiar circumſtances of atrocity that have not reached our time. He died November 19, 1667, and his body was ſent down to Farley, to be interred with his anceſtors.

He married Ann, daughter of Henry Wriotheſley, Earl of Southampton, and ſiſter of that good man and great ſtateſman, the loyal Thomas Earl of Southampton; by whom he had Henry Wallop, Eſq. his only child, who through the intereſt of the lord treaſurer, the Earl of Southampton, his maternal uncle, was permitted to enjoy thoſe eſtates which his father's treaſon had forfeited; and it was moſt probable on account of theſe his near connections that this nobleman was ſo extremely ſtrenuous in favour of thoſe regicides who had ſurrendered.

This ſole heir of the regicide by Dorothy, youngeſt daughter and coheir of John Bluet, Eſq. had Robert, who died in his father's life-time; Henry, who became heir to his father, but died unmarried; John Wallop, Eſq. who next enjoyed the eſtate; and Charles, who died before his father, unmarried.

John Wallop, Eſq. had four ſons. Bluet, who died unmarried; Henry and William, who died children; and John, the ſecond ſon, who became heir to the great eſtates of this ancient family, and was created by king George I. June 11, 1720, Baron Wallop, of Farley Wallop, and Viſcount Lymington, both in the county of Southampton, at which time he was one of the lords of the treaſury, and afterwards poſſeſſed a great variety of important and lucrative places, and April 11, 1743, was farther elevated by having the Earldom of Portſmouth conferred upon him, and is anceſtor of the preſent nobleman of that title.

There is a depravity in this regicide that truly diſguſts; he had no intereſt that could urge him on to the acrimonious conduct againſt the king, which he invariably diſplayed, unleſs he was diſpleaſed in not having been gratified in ſome honour or employment he had coveted. We do not wonder at adventurers in the parliament army, who ſought, and whoſe aim was only their own aggradizement; but a gentleman ſo highly favoured by fortune, as poſſeſſing a great landed property, and who might juſtly boaſt a race of

illuſtrious worthies for his anceſtors, to aſſiſt in deſtroying what muſt render the poſſeſſion of his eſtates precarious, was at once criminal and preposterous. Probably it was avarice alone that influenced him; for he is ſaid to have received from the eſtates of the Marquis of Wincheſter the ſum of 11,000l.

Life of VALENTINE WAUTON, *Esq.*

VALENTINE WAUTON, Esq. was of very ancient and knightly family of Great Staughton, in Huntingdonshire. Upon a vacancy he was returned a member of the long parliament for the county of Huntingdon. He was from the commencement of the civil war a soldier in the army of the parliament, rose to be a colonel, and fell into the king's hands; but was released, and ever after sided with greater steadiness to the army interest; and having married Margaret, sister of Cromwell, he followed him in all his designs, and in none with more willingness than in putting the king to death; he sat as one of the unhappy sovereign's pretended judges every day, except January the 12th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 24th, he gave sentence for the destruction of the royal victim, and signed and sealed the warrant for the completion of the murder.

In the republic he was greatly employed, and confided in; he was of the council of state in the years 1650, 1651, and 1652, appointed governor of King's Lynn and Croyland, with all the level of Ely, Holland, and Marshland.

He was one of those who were steady, real republicans, who had engaged probably to greatly debase majesty; and soon rising in their demands, determined to change the form of government en-

tirely; this gentleman, when courted to honours, when ſolicited to accept places of truſt and profit, under his brother-in-law, the elder protector, refuſed them, and was obliged to be watched to prevent his revolt againſt him.

At the return of the long parliament, in deriſion called the Rump, he roſe again to greater power and authority than he had poſſeſſed before, and having ſeen the fate of a nation governed by an army, he took a decided part with the parliament, in preference to the military; and they truſted to him as one of thoſe that were to counterpoiſe General Monk; but he had no political capacity for ſuch an enterpriſe, and ſeeing, what he moſt feared, that the monarchy would be reſtored, he prudently retired to the continent, and ſettled at Hanau, in Germany, of which he was elected a burgeſs; but knowing the extreme hatred the royal family, eſpecially the queen dowager, had to him, he left that town, and hid himſelf in the garb of a gardener in Flanders, and did not diſcover himſelf until juſt upon the point of his diſſolution, which happened in the year 1661, occaſioned, no doubt, from the many misfortunes which overwhelmed him, and the dread of ſtill greater.

The parliament had abſolutely excepted him out of the act of indemnity, and confiſcated his eſtate; a great part of what he had acquired belonged to the queen, as part of her dower: had he been ſeized, his deſtruction would have been inevitable.

His firſt wife dying, he married the daughter of Colonel Pride, the well-known regicide, and one of Oliver's lords, who partaking of the misfortunes of her huſband, died in poverty and wretchedneſs at Oxford, November 14, 1662, and was buried in St. Mary's church in that city.

By one or both theſe marriages he had children, who alſo were greatly implicated in the miſeries their father's crimes had involved him in.

This man, from his prejudice to a republic, acted againſt both the perſon and government of the king. He was one of the very few who preferred that intereſt to every other, even to his own, and had he ſeen the wickedneſs of his projects, he would, no doubt, have been a very eminent and real patriot; but the idea of a commonwealth had ſo led him away, that he muſt ever have been a dangerous and troubleſome ſubject, where the adminiſtration was in the hands of a ſingle perſon, under whatever title. Had he been a loyaliſt, he would have been ſteady to that intereſt, and have rendered eſſential ſervice to the kingdom, himſelf, and his deſcendants.

For other particulars of him and his family, ſee the Cromwell Memoirs.

The Life of THOMAS WAYTE, *Eſq.*

THOMAS WAYTE, Eſq. was a native of Rutlandſhire, and is ſaid to have been the ſon of an "alehouſe-keeper," at Market Overton, in that county; but going into the parliament army, made ſuch good uſe of his time, that he obtained a colonel's commiſſion, and a ſeat in the long parliament. In 1643, he beat up the king's quarters near Burley Houſe; at this time he was a colonel, and probably then, or immediately after, became, in conſequence of it, governor of Burley-on-the-hill, in Rutlandſhire.

He wrote to the parliament in the year 1648, that he had fallen upon thoſe who had made an inſurrection at Stamford, in Lincolnſhire, and had killed Dr. Hudſon, who had commanded them, with ſome others, and taken many priſoners, but had diſmiſſed the countrymen; which the houſe approving of, ſent him their thanks, and ordered that the general ſhould ſend him a commiſſion to try the priſoners by martial law. Soon afterwards he reported to the houſe the defeat and capture of the Duke of Hamilton, with all the circumſtances relative to it.

As one of the army grandees, he contrived and aſſiſted in the deſtruction of his ſovereign, whom their arms had conquered, fearing his majeſty,

and the parliament, ſhould ſettle their quarrel, and they, in conſequence of it, be diſbanded, without reaping thoſe rewards they were determined to obtain. He ſat as one of the pretended judges at the mock trial, on January the 25th, 26th, and 27th, in the Painted Chamber, and in the laſt of theſe in Weſtminſter Hall, when ſentence was pronounced againſt the unhappy monarch, and he ſigned and ſealed that inſtrument, which commanded the execution of it.

After this event, we hear nothing of this man, until the reſtoration; he ſeems neglected by the parliament, and totally given up by Oliver, when he became protector, who even omitted his name as one of the committee for Rutlandſhire, which he had enjoyed during the parliament's influence.

He was excepted out of the act of indemnity, and having ſurrendered himſelf, was brought to the bar, at the Seſſion's Houſe, in the Old Bailey, October 10, 1660, but he was extremely troubleſome to the court at his arraignment; for having been aſked the uſual queſtions of "guilty," or "not guilty," he replied,

"P. I deſire to be heard a word or two.

"Court. There is a rule of law which is ſet "to us and you, that in all theſe caſes you are to "plead guilty, or not guilty. When you have "pleaded, if not guilty, you may ſpeak what you "will in its proper time.

"Clerk. Are you guilty or not guilty?

"P. I pray let me be heard a word. I am

" very unwilling to ſpend time, knowing you " have a great deal of buſineſs. I am very un- " willing to deprive myſelf of my native right. " I ſhall ſpeak nothing but that which is truth.

" Court. Do not preface then, but ſpeak what " you would ſay.

" P. My lord, my caſe is different from the " reſt.

" Court. Whatſoever the caſe be, you have " no plea to us, but guilty, or not guilty? We " can go no other way. The law ſets out your " plea.

" P. My lord, I would ſpeak one word. " There was a great peer of this nation indicted " at Northampton, within theſe two years, for " killing a man. The judges there——

" Court. You muſt plead guilty, or not guilty. " Pray who are you that you ſhould take this upon " you more than all the reſt? You muſt go the " ordinary way, guilty, or not guilty? Are you " guilty, or not guilty? We do not intend to " prevent any thing you have to ſay, but it muſt " be proper.

" Clerk. Are you guilty, or not guilty?

" P. I cannot ſay I am guilty.

" Court. How then?

" P. I am not guilty.

" After he had complied thus far, he did with " the other forms.

" On the 16th, he was brought again to the bar " for his trial, when he was aſked by the

" Council. Mr. Wayte, you heard the charge " read againſt you, what ſay you to it?

" P. Truly, my lord, when I was here laſt, I " pleaded not guilty; I humbly deſired then your " lordſhips to hear me a word or two. You pro- " miſed me then I ſhould be heard; I ſhall deſire " to ſpeak for myſelf.

" Lord Chief Baron. God forbid but you " ſhould.

" Mr. Solicitor General. By your lordſhip's " favor you muſt ſpeak firſt; if he will confeſs " the fact, he may ſpeak what he will. Did you " ſit in the court?

" P. Yes.

" Council. The day of ſentence?

" P. Yes.

" Council. Is your hand to the warrant for " execution?

" P. I know not; pray let me ſee it. (It " was ſhewn him). My lord, it is like my hand, " but I do not remember it.

" Council. If you do not acknowledge it, it " will be proved.

" P. Truly, my lord, I do believe it is my " hand.

" Council. Then the jury will not doubt it.

" P. But I deſire to be heard. I am loath to " trouble you much; I will tell you how I was " brought into this buſineſs. My lord, I was a " member of that houſe that erected this court " when the treaty was in the Iſle of Wight. Im-

" mediately after the army came up, I was ut-
" terly againſt that act in the houſe. When the
" army came up to purge the houſe I was much
" troubled at it; I deſired to know the charge
" they had againſt them. Two or three days af-
" ter I did more, and there were other gentlemen
" that did move to know what charge there was.
" They ſent word we ſhould have a charge in due
" time; we ſent, and none came, but ſaid we
" ſhould have it in due time: I went to thoſe wor-
" thy gentlemen to ſee them in priſon, and ſeeing
" nothing could be done, I took my leave, and
" made account to ſee them no more, and went
" down into the country to Leiceſterſhire; I was
" ſent for up ſeveral times; I would not come
" with threats upon pain of ſequeſtration. My
" lords, there were petitions going up and down
" in the country for bringing the king to that
" buſineſs which was againſt my conſcience. I
" went to Rutlandſhire, I heard there were ſome
" things working there; I uſed my intereſt, and
" I thank God I ſtopped it; I came then to Lon-
" don, when all things were deſtroyed. I came
" to London the day before the ſentence was
" given; I went to the houſe, (thought nothing)
" ſome were ſent to the Tower, and I was ſent
" for to the houſe, and my name was in the act
" unknown to me; but one ſent a note in my
" Lord Grey's name, that he would ſpeak to me;
" I went to him, and I ſaid, my lord, what would
" you do with me? Saith he, I did not ſend for

" you; thereupon, Cromwell and Ireton laid hold
" on me, ſaid they, we ſent for you, you are one
" of the high court; no, ſaid I, not I, my judg-
" ment is againſt it; they carried me to the court.
" When the king deſired to ſpeak with his par-
" liament, I riſing up, one told me, I muſt not
" be heard, for the preſident was to give judg-
" ment, and ſaid, there was an order that none
" ſhould ſpeak in court. Mr. Downes did move,
" and they did adjourn the court, and I was glad
" I got out; Cromwell laughed and ſmiled, and
" jeered in the court of wards. I hope your lord-
" ſhip will be pleaſed to conſider I was no con-
" triver, no ſoldier that put the force upon the
" houſe that erected the court, none of the law-
" makers, or did any thing maliciouſly againſt the
" king. My lord, I was looked upon with an
" evil eye for regarding the king's friends in the
" country; Grey, he told me, the king would not
" die, I hope he will not, ſaid I; the next day,
" on Monday, I went to the houſe, they were
" labouring to get hands for his execution at the
" door; I refuſed, and went into the houſe; ſaith
" Cromwell, thoſe that are gone in ſhall ſet their
" hands, I will have their hands now. That night
" I went to the Lord Grey's, and he ſaid, I am
" afraid they will put him to death, I ſaid ſo alſo.
" My lord, I have been a great ſufferer, I was
" drawn in, trepanned into it; ſince being a friend
" to the king's friends, I am almoſt ruined in my
" eſtate: I beſeech your lordſhips make the beſt

" interpretation. I hope you will believe I was " no contriver; I humbly lay hold upon the " king's mercy and favor. I came in upon the " proclamation; I pray that this honorable court " will prefer my petition to the king, and both " houſes of parliament, which the court then re- " ceived."

The jury brought in a verdict " guilty;" and when he was aſked " why ſentence ſhould not paſs " upon him," he ſaid,

" P. My lord, I refer it to your lordſhip."

By this relation it may be ſeen that he was by no means a man of underſtanding, and that the party made him the meaneſt dupe to their moſt wicked ſchemes; it ſhould alſo be obſerved, if his relation is true, that even Grey was not for having the king put to death; but he was ſo bad a man, and ſo deep in the myſtery, that little reliance can be placed upon the opinion of a man who ſeems to have a very bad judgment. It may, however, be a probable ſurmiſe, that many of thoſe who were drawn in to ſit as judges were fooled by the heads of the party, pretending that it was only meant to try, and even condemn the king to bring him, when in ſo deplorable a ſituation, to adopt what ſchemes they were pleaſed, and what terms they choſe to lay him under for their own ſecurity and reward.

Mr. Walker ſays, he ſoon obtained an eſtate of five hundred pounds, who before was not able to purchaſe five pounds a year; but when I hear him

ſpeaking of his eſtates, I am led to ſuppoſe, that he was not ſo mean, nor ſo poor a man, as he has been repreſented; but by his ſpeech, he ſeems to have had little or no education, or to have made but an ill uſe of it.

The Life of JOHN WEAVER, *Eſq.*

JOHN WEAVER, Eſq. was of Lincolnſhire, where during the latter part of the reign of King Charles I. and during the uſurpation he had great intereſt and ſway; he obtained a ſeat in the long parliament, but though greatly an enemy to the court, even to the government of the king, and as it afterwards appeared, partial to a republic, yet he would not act againſt the perſon of the ſovereign in the high court of juſtice, never once attending, nor ſigned to ſacrifice his majeſty.

However after that dreadful blow had been ſtruck, he united cordially in acting under the commonwealth, and was ſent as one of the commiſſioners appointed for the management of the civil government of Ireland.

He was afterwards employed in Scotland, and behaved in a very judicious manner, ſo that the parliament gave him ſome of the lands they had taken from the legal poſſeſſors.

When Oliver aſſumed the protectorial power he ſtrove to win him to his favour; and as the eſtates he had obtained in Scotland lay at ſo great a diſtance, and were perhaps of little emolument to him, his highneſs ordered him two thouſand pounds in lieu of it; but this had not the effect it was meant to have, for Mr. Weaver, in the meet-

ing called to give him his power, had been but little complying, and he appeared leſs ſo afterwards. We may perceive his views and ſentiments by this extract of one of Henry Cromwell's letters to Secretary Thurloe, February 6, 1655-6. "Sir Henry Vane, and ſuch like, whoe are as "rotten in their principles, cane make good uſe "of ſuch deluſions as theſe fifth monarchy, and "the like, to carry on their deſignes. Mr. "Weaver hath writt verry hotly to a friend of "his, who tolde me it as a ſecreſy, that Sir H. V. "goes up and downe amongſt theſe people, and "others, endeavouringe to withdraw them frome "their ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, "which perhaps is noe newes to you; but com-"inge from ſuch a hand, I thought it not amiſs "to give you this hint. His expreſſion concern-"inge him is, that if he be not prevented, he "will be a ſad ſcourge to Englande. I hope you "will ſend none of the breed of hime into Ire-"land." Alas, poor Henry Cromwell, how was thy quiet, good mind vexed with this overflow of wild fanaticiſm; for he had juſt before ſpoken of the quakers, which greatly annoyed him, by their preaching to the different regiments of the army, of whom he ſays, "I think "their principles and practices are not very con-"ſiſtent with civil government, much leſs with "the diſcipline of an army. Some thinke them "to have noe deſigne, but I am not of that opi-"nion. Their counterfeited ſimplicitie renders

" them to me the more dangerous. I wiſh they " be not too much ſlighted in Englande."

Mr. Weaver keeping ſociety with ſuch men, whom he and the other republicans were conſtantly flattering, as greatly their friends and admirers, became a very dangerous perſon, and it was no wonder therefore that Oliver ſecured him, and ſent him under a ſtrong guard to Preſton, with Carpenter and Lynn, two more of theſe his reſtleſs enemies.

He however ſoon obtained his liberty, and profeſſing that he would not diſturb the preſent government, he was elected for Stamford in Lincolnſhire, ſo well did he carry his hypocriſy; for the juſtices declared, that not a man ſhould be elected in the county, but what would, though nothing was farther from his thoughts than ſubmitting to, or ſupporting Oliver's power longer than he was obliged to it ough he told the deluded people of that b gh, that " his mind " was altered from w t was the laſt parlia- " ment;" but Oliver was not to be ſo impoſed upon, he was one who was ſtopped in going into the parliament, and obliged to give an undertaking to remain true to his government, before he was allowed to ſit in the houſe.

Upon the return of the long parliament after Richards's depoſition, as one of the ſteady republicans, he came to ſit in the front of the theatre, and he was elected one of the council of ſtate, and, with Colonels Cooper, Reynolds, and Berners

went December 24, 1659, to the lord mayor, to confer with him and the ſheriffs, relative to the meeting of the parliament again in a ſhort time, when they much approved it, and from thence he and his aſſociates went and ſecured the Tower, but it was ſoon taken out of their hands by General Monk and Colonel Morley, the latter of whom was made lieutenant of it.

The moſt diſcerning ſaw whither things were veering, yet he ſeemed not to look upon the "good old cauſe" as deſperate, and accepted in January the appointment of being one of the new commiſſioners for Ireland; but he either did not go into that kingdom, or going thither, ſoon returned, for he was in England at the meeting of the healing parliament called in April following, when it was voted to ſend a dutiful invitation to his majeſty to return into his dominions, and govern his kingdoms; he was one of the few denominated rump members who obtained a ſeat in it.

He is mentioned by Blome as reſiding at Luffenham in Rutlandſhire.

We have no ſtriking feature in the character of this perſon; in the days of peace and ſerenity he would never have attracted notice, except perhaps at a borough election. But in the days of confuſion, when ſometimes all ſociety ſeemed diſſolved, and at others, only held together by the ſword; when the ſacred and venerable names of religion and patriotiſm were called forth to ſanction every enormity, ſuch men ſhine with

great luſtre in this falſe glare; but they generally ſet in diſgrace, and are conſigned to contempt by a people awakened from their deluſion.

The Life of Sir PETER WENTWORTH, *Knight of the Bath.*

Sir Peter Wentworth, Knight of the Bath, was a branch of that wide-extended family of which the head was the great but unfortunate Earl of Strafford, who reſided at Lillington-Lovell in Oxfordſhire.

King Charles I. created him a knight of the Bath at his coronation. He obtained a ſeat in the long parliament, where he only expoſed himſelf by the trouble he gave.

His weakneſs probably occaſioned the inſertion of his name in the commiſſion of the pretended high court of juſtice, but he had honour enough to keep himſelf from what would eternally have diſgraced his family and title.

This gentleman was of too mean a capacity to either injure or advance any party, more than what the fortuitous circumſtances of his eſtate and rank gave him; and this was only ſo far as an honourable name went, and for which he received as a compenſation ſome of the plunder of the royaliſts. Denzil, Lord Hollis, to whom he had been a perſonal enemy, ſpeaks thus of his peculation: he had given him "a gentleman's eſtate "for half the value, ſettled likewiſe by ordi-"nance, though the gentleman (whoſe delin-"quency was perhaps aggravated, becauſe he

" would not ſell him that land which he had " long deſired, like Naboth's vineyard) offered " to pay the money to the ſtate as the fine for the " compoſition, which by the rules of their own " proceedings could not in juſtice have been de- " nied him. I remember," ſays his lordſhip, " we put by the ordinance two or three times, " but I hear it is ſince paſt, which makes me " mention it."

Sir Peter lived to ſee the reſtoration, and died one of the oldeſt knights of the Bath, if not the oldeſt.

He had courage to withſtand even Cromwell, for he cauſed one of the collectors of the county in which he lived to be arreſted, and proſecuted at his ſuit, though he could with difficulty procure an attorney to appear, or council to plead for him. The protector, finding the ſtoutneſs of the knight, ſent for him to the council by a meſſenger, and aſked his reaſon for his conduct, to which he returned, " that by the law of Eng- " land, no money ought to be levied upon the " people without their conſent in parliament." Oliver aſked him whether he would withdraw his action or not, to which he replied, " if you " command me I muſt ſubmit;" which was accordingly done and complied with; and when Lieutenant-general Ludlow remonſtrated to him for giving up his cauſe, he told that gentleman, " no man could have done more than I did to the " time of appearing to the council, and that if I " have failed in any thing, it muſt be attributed

" to my age of threeſcore and three years, when " the blood does not run with the ſame vigour " as in younger men."

He lived by this mean to ſee that they who take up the ſword againſt their lawful ſovereign, often fall under the dominion of a uſurped power, which from neceſſity, and often from inclination, are extremely oppreſſive, and whoſe ſceptre is iron, and whoſe chains are adamant.

This gentleman was not celebrated for his chaſtity, in theſe days of pretended ſpirituality, for he gave ſo great offence to the ſaints by his amours, that Oliver, when he diſſolved the parliament, pointed at him and Harry Marten of notorious memory as *whoremaſters*.

The Life of BENJAMIN WESTON, *Esq.*

Benjamin Weston, Esq. was son of Sir Richard Weston, and went into the parliament army, where he rose to be a lieutenant-colonel, and was at the siege of Colchester; he was taken prisoner in July 1648, but he was exchanged immediately with Mr. Rowling for Captain Gray.

He was put in the commission for trying the king, but he never took the least share in that disgraceful and criminal business.

I have seen no farther account of him. His father, Sir Richard, was buried March 26, 1681, at Hackney. I presume he was of a branch of the ennobled family of the Westons, one of whom was created Earl of Portland.

The Life of EDWARD WHALLEY, *Eſq.*

EDWARD WHALLEY, Eſq. was deſcended of a very ancient and reſpectable family in Nottinghamſhire, though he was brought up to trade; and going into the army, by his attention to that profeſſion he roſe to be a colonel, and upon every occaſion ſhewed he deſerved that rank. He acted the part of a ſpy upon the king whilſt his majeſty was a priſoner with the army, and once either was, or nearly caned by the royal captive, who left the army chiefly through his means; but the ſcheme had been planned by Oliver Cromwell his relation; under the guidance of that artful man he was alſo brought to ſit upon the pretended trial of his majeſty, and he was ſo obedient to his inſinuating craftineſs, that he was abſent only on the 12th of January, and ſigned and ſealed the warrant for execution.

After this dreadful cataſtrophe he faithfully ſerved the parliament, fighting their battles whenſoever called upon, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in a very particular manner at Dunbar; Oliver left him in Scotland with the rank of commiſſary-general.

It was not intirely to his ſatisfaction that Oliver became ſovereign, yet he thought himſelf bound in gratitude to be an obedient ſubject. He was made one of his major-generals, a lord of

his other houſe, and highly rewarded: he did not bear his honours with great humility.

Upon Richard's loſing his power, he cordially joined the long parliament again, which deputed him to treat with General Monk who abſolutely refuſed to meet him upon the occaſion.

Seeing his danger, he got on board a veſſel and ſailed to North America, with his ſon-in-law Goffe, another regicide. Government were particularly anxious to ſeize them, eſpecially him, as one who had perſonally ill-treated the royal ſufferer, even previous to his trial; but all the means uſed to diſcover them were ineffectual, they had hid themſelves in a wild ſolitude, where they lived very many years literally buried alive in a cave; and when they died their wretched remains were depoſited in the cellar of a houſe, in which they ſometimes ventured to inhabit, or rather to ſecrete themſelves. Even royalty itſelf muſt feel commiſſeration for the humiliating and apprehenſive torture in which they lingered out their exiſtence, in a vain and wild viſionary expectation that God would manifeſt his approbation of their cauſe by reſtoring to life thoſe of their fellow regicides who had been put to death, which they imagined the ſlaying of the witneſſes; and even when 1666 paſſed without theſe men's remains uniting, and being reſtored to their former ſtate, they only ſuppoſed ſome miſtake was in the chriſtian æra, none in the truth of their propheſy.

Mr. Whalley was a wild enthuſiaſt, but he was

never accuſed of any of thoſe private wickedneſſes which ſo conſtantly diſgraced the lives of moſt of theſe men; he was under powerful deluſions, and neither the dreadful corrections of himſelf, the conſtant detections of his vain hopes, nor the univerſal deteſtation of his vaſt crime could make him ſee the enormity of it, but ſtill look forwards for ſome viſible manifeſtation of God to evince to all, that it was a great, a good, and glorious act to commit one of the moſt deteſtable murders that ſtains the page of Chriſtian hiſtory.

By a ſiſter of Sir George Middleton, Knt. he had other children beſides Mrs. Goffe.

I muſt refer the reader to the Cromwell memoirs for other particulars of this regicide and his family.

The Life of EDMOND WILD, *Eſq.*

EDMOND WILD, Eſq. was probably an officer in the army; it is more ſo that he was deſcended from George Wild, Eſq. ſerjeant at law, father of John Wild, lord chief baron of the Exchequer during the uſurpation, and was employed before that promotion in the worſt of their actions; he died in great retirement at Hampſtead, near London, in 1669; and of George Wild, Eſq. a member of the long parliament, who died January 15, 1649, and was buried in St. Andrew's chapel in London, upon whoſe monument, it is ſaid, he was "*in vita honeſt. in lege and literis erudit; in morte fortis and pius.*"

It is not unlikely he was a brother of theſe two gentlemen; however I have never ſeen a ſingle circumſtance of him, but this of his being a judge of the king; he ſat in the Painted Chamber only January the 17th and 25th; but never appeared in Weſtminſter Hall, nor ſigned the warrant for that deplorable misfortune which it occaſioned.

King Charles II. created William Wild, Eſq. a knight and baronet, September 13, 1660, who reſided in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, and was recorder of London; he was made ſerjeant at law, Oc-

tober 5 in that year, and king's ſerjeant November 10 following; in 1668, juſtice of the common pleas; and in 1672 a juſtice of the King's Bench. He aſſiſted at the trials of the regicides.

The Life of ROWLAND WILSON, *Alderman of the City of London.*

ROWLAND WILSON, an alderman of the city of London, was ſon of Mr. Rowland Wilſon, a merchant, with whom he was in partnerſhip; he was a perſon greatly in the intereſt of thoſe who oppoſed King Charles's I.'s government, and he was a great acquiſition, being very rich, and had vaſt influence in the city. He was appointed of the committee for London as one of the corporation; but beſides this, he was a very confidential perſon with the party, both in the houſe of commons where he had a ſeat, and in the army, in which he had riſen to be a colonel.

In the year 1648, he underwent a very heavy loſs by the royaliſts; for one of his ſhips was taken by Lord Willoughby, the admiral to the Prince of Wales, and in it was near twenty thouſand pounds in gold which had been purchaſed in Guinea, and moſt of it belonged to this gentleman, his father, and their partners.

He was put in the commiſſion to try the king, but he was one of thoſe who did not attend, and when with others, ſays Whitlock, "they went "to Colonel Rowland Wilſon, a perſon of great "worth and integrity, he refuſed to act as a com-"miſſioner, though named in this buſineſs, or to "ſit with them." Though unable to ſatisfy him-

ſelf in partaking in the royal murder, he did not heſitate to accompany the pretended Lord Mayor, Andrews, and twelve aldermen, beſides the former chief magiſtrate, and himſelf, to proclaim the act for aboliſhing kingly government, though Sir Abraham Reynardſon, the proper and real lord mayor, and Major-general Browne, one of the ſheriffs, refuſed, for which the former was fined 2000l. and committed to the Tower for two months: ſuch was the commencement of liberty in the capital. It was in vain Sir Abraham urged at the bar of the parliament, his ſcruple of conſcience, the oath he had taken in the court of Exchequer, and that it was the place of the ſheriffs, and not the lord mayor, to perform any office of that kind. The republican aldermen were beſides, Andrews, Pennington, Sir John Wollaſton, Atkins, Viner, Fowke, Edmonds, Pack, Byde, Avery, Dethick, Bateman, and Foot. I mention them here, as ſeveral have been noticed as commiſſioners of the pretended high court of juſtice. Theſe men alſo, in compliance with an order of their rulers, took down the king's effigies at the Royal Exchange, and placed where it had ſtood,

Exit Tyrannis Regum ultimus Anno,
Libertatis Angliæ Reſtitutæ Primo
Anno 1649. 30 Januarii.

They alſo took down the equeſtrian ſtatue of the murdered king at Charing Croſs, and ordered it to be broken, but by an artifice it was ſaved, and at the reſtoration replaced.

All theſe things did not however prevent the legal ſucceſſor, King Charles II. from being proclaimed in the city, which, in general, wept the fate of their ſovereign, as ſeveral of the republicans have owned in their writings.

Mr. Wilſon was named one of the council of ſtate for 1649, and alſo in 1650; he was appointed one of the truſtees for the ſale of dean and chapter lands; and muſter-maſter general of the forces of Warwick and Coventry.

A petition from the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, was preſented to the parliament, July 13, 1649, acquainting the houſe, that one of the members, Alderman Wilſon, was elected one of the ſheriffs, and deſired the leave of the houſe, that he might ſerve according to his election.

The queſtion being put, it was voted that it be left to him to accept of it, if he thought proper, and that the houſe would look upon it as an acceptable ſervice to the commonwealth if he would take the office according to the election, and the wiſh of the city; and as he was very fit for the place, and freely elected to it, and a conſcientious worthy perſon, conſidering too the affection of the city, and that God had bleſſed him and his father with gaining a good fortune in it, thought he could do no leſs than ſpend ſome of it, and undergo the trouble of the poſt, to which he was ſo honorably called, and by which he would do a ſervice to the city.

Unfortunately he died in this office; "but "though he was a young man for that employ- "ment, yet he was an elder in wiſdom and abi- "lities, being a gentleman of excellent parts, and "great piety, of a ſolid, ſober temper and judg- "ment, and very honeſt and juſt in all his actions. "He was a member of the houſe of commons, and "of the council of ſtate; he had ſerved the parlia- "ment as colonel of one of the city regiments, "not in trainings only, but in the field againſt the "enemy."

"He was beloved both in the houſe, city and "army, and by all that knew him, and his death "as much lamented."

To ſhew a proper reſpect for ſo deſerving a character, a public funeral was given him, at which aſſiſted the members of parliament, of the council of ſtate, the lord mayor, aldermen, and many of the citizens of London, and officers of the army, and the city regiment, of which he was colonel, with other companies of ſoldiers in arms.

Such a character as this deſerves that reſpect which was paid him by thoſe different bodies, who ſo well knew his worth. He was a public loſs to the community, and muſt have been a very ſevere one to his father, and his other relatives.

The royaliſts tell a marvellous, but very ſilly ſtory, of what occaſioned his death; they ſay that a parrot accuſing him of killing his king, the conceit of which oppreſſing his ſpirits, proved

fatal to him: but it is evident he was againſt the deſtruction of that monarch; this of itſelf is ſufficient to ſhew the folly of ſo extravagant a tale. Had he been a real friend to the king, he might at that juncture have been extremely uſeful.

The Life of THOMAS WOGAN, *Esq.*

THOMAS WOGAN, Esq. was of a very knightly family, but of what branch I am not able to determine. He went, I apprehend, late into the parliament service; in 1648 he was a captain under Colonel Horton, and distinguished himself in the victory obtained by him over Major-general Langhorne, in Wales, one of the most important in its consequences during the war, for which, as a reward, the parliament ordered that he should have his arrears audited, and as a farther one, for his gallantry, he was to partake in the distribution with others who had fought and obtained the battle; he was highly extolled for the conduct he had shewn in keeping steady to the parliament interest when his former superior officer, Langhorne, had deserted to the king, and I suppose it was in consequence of this that he obtained a colonel's commission.

He was appointed one of the king's judges, and he sat in the Painted Chamber January the 18th and 26th; and in Westminster Hall the 22d, 23d, and 29th, and signed the warrant for execution, so that he was implicated as far in this nefarious wickedness as he well could be.

Very soon afterwards he was sent off to Ireland, and became governor of Duncannon; he was, however, soon after taken prisoner by Colonel Zanchy, but he was liberated, and continued in the service of the usurpers.

At the reſtoration he was included in the exception of the bill of indemnity, but he had prudently retired to the continent, where, or how he ſpent the laſt part of his life, is entirely unknown.

There was a Captain Edward Wogan, who was employed in the parliament ſervice, but revolting from it, became a colonel in the ſervice of King Charles II. he was a brave, dauntleſs man, getting into Scotland, that nation ſecured and meant to ſurrender him up after long and tedious delays; but he had the good fortune to perſuade his keeper to join him, and get abroad; ever after he was active, perſevering, and adventurous in the royal intereſt, coming over ſecretly, when neceſſary, and returning to the exiled monarch to ſpeak of his ſucceſs; he died at the Engliſh court at Bruſſels, much lamented, in 1653. One of this family was William Wogan, of Middleſex, Eſq. who was ſet down for a knight of the royal oak, whoſe eſtate was valued at 600l. a year.

It is not improbable that the regicide Wogan remained ſecure for the obligations the crown owed his relation, I ſuppoſe brother; but it muſt be a dreadful ſituation to be cut off from all ſociety with thoſe we love and honour, and are even known to; had he acted the part of the other Wogan, he would have ſpent his laſt days in the boſom of his friends, honoured, reſpected, and beloved; courted and admired; and inſtead of loſing what he had acquired, he would have augmented that which he had obtained, and left it to thoſe for whom he had the greateſt regard.

The Life of Sir THOMAS WROTH, *Knt.*

Sir Thomas Wroth, Knight, was one of the many branches of that family in Kent, which King Charles II. in 1660, raiſed to the title of baronet; a knightly family alſo was ſeated at Enfield.

This knight was a parliamentarian, and named one of his majeſty's pretended judges; but he complied only ſo far as to ſit one day in the Painted Chamber, which was the 15th, nor have I ſeen one other circumſtance of him, except, that in June 1649 he had the thanks of the parliament for ſuppreſſing, with Colonel Price, the levellers in his own county of Somerſet, of which he was a committee-man.

He was entirely ſafe at the reſtoration, and was the ſame perſon, I apprehend, whom Blome mentions as reſiding at Newton, in Somerſetſhire; this makes me ſuppoſe he was a junior branch of the baronet's family; for though he is deſcribed as having his chief ſeat at Blenden Hall, in Kent, yet he had alſo one at Petherton Park, in the county of Somerſet.

It is not improbable but that it was Sir Thomas Wroth, father of the commiſſioner of the high court of juſtice, who in the year 1620 publiſhed "The Deſtruction of Troy," in Engliſh verſe, tranſlated from the ſecond book of Æneis; and a century of epigrams, with a motto on the

creed, called the "Abortive of an Idle Hour." It is dedicated to Robert Lord Liſle.

The protector appointed Robert Wroth, Eſq. of the committee of Southampton, but omitted Sir Thomas; ſo we may ſuppoſe he did not act under him.

Addition to VOL. I. *page* 140

James Challoner, Eſq. the regicide, was the ſon of Jacob and grandſon of Thomas Challoner, both arms painters in the city of Cheſter, a family remarkable for their knowledge in heraldry; from this ſtatement it appears he was no ways related to the other judge of King Charles of his ſurname.

In

The Grenville Library

In a few Weeks will be Publiſhed,

Price only ONE GUINEA to SUBSCRIBERS, on 49 Plates, Five Feet Ten Inches by Four Feet Eight Inches,

A

NEW MAP

OF

ENGLAND and WALES,

WITH THE

SOUTHERN PART of SCOTLAND;

On which are accurately laid down the TURNPIKE ROADS and PRINCIPAL TOWNS, PARKS, RIVERS, and CANALS.

PUBLISHED BY JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.
1798.

One great advantage of this Map is, by being on ſo large a ſcale, with the Roads, Rivers, and principal Towns, unincumbered by places of leſs conſequence, the eye can eaſily trace any object without injury to the ſight, or confuſing the obſerve.

This Day are publiſhed, in One Volume, Crown Octavo, neatly printed on a ſuperfine wove cream-coloured Paper, and hot-preſſed; Embelliſhed with a Frontiſpiece, Price 5s.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSON TO HER MAJESTY,

EFFUSIONS of the HEART:

POEMS,

BY MISS STOCKDALE.

London: Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

We cannot too ſtrongly recommend the Peruſal of the following Work, which has tended more to open the Eyes of the deluded Part of the Community than any other Publication of the preſent Period, having in a great Meaſure ſaved the American Government from being overthrown by a French Faction, and been of no little Service to that of Great Britain: the Jacobins being rapidly on the Increaſe, and their baneful Influence faſt ſpreading over the various Parts of Europe, to the Deſtruction of the Countries where they have been admitted.

This Work contains the Hiſtory of the Manœuvres of the Jacobins, from the Beginning of the Revolution till the Expulſion of the Party of Barrere and Collot d'Herbois. All of the Hiſtories yet publiſhed ſtop at or before the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, at which Period the REIGN OF ANARCHY AND SYSTEM OF TERROR COMMENCED. The firſt Period ſhows the miſtaken Opinions of French Reformers, and the latter their terrible Reſult. It is to ſhow the Chain that connected the firſt Errors and the laſt Exceſſes that the Author chiefly attaches himſelf, and it is from this Connection between the Cauſes and Effects that other Nations may learn to form a true Opinion of that unexampled Revolution.

This Day is publiſhed, in One lage Volume Octavo, containing 850 *Pages of cloſe Letter Preſs, Price* 10s. 6d. *in Boards,*

HISTORY

OF

JACOBINISM,

Its CRIMES, CRUELTIES, and PERFIDIES; compriſing an Inquiry into the Manner of diſſeminating, under the appearance of Philoſophy and Virtue, Principles which are equally ſubverſive of Order, Virtue, Religion, and Happineſs.

By WILLIAM PLAYFAIR,

Author of the Commercial and Political Atlas, &c.

London: Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

Lord Macartney's Embaſſy to China.

This day is publiſhed, in one large Volume Octavo, neatly printed on a Superfine wove cream-coloured Paper, and illuſtrated with the following highly-finiſhed Plates, chiefly from Drawings by Alexander in China, a Frontiſpiece by Stothard, and a Vignette by Burney, engraved by thoſe eminent Artiſts, Grignion, Sanſom, Dadley, Audinet, Sparrow, and Owen, price only Ten Shillings and Sixpence in boards,

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

EMBASSY

TO THE

EMPEROR OF CHINA,

UNDERTAKEN BY ORDER OF

THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN:

Including the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, and preceded by an Account of the Cauſes of the Embaſſy and Voyage to China. Abridged principally from the Papers of EARL MACARTNEY, as compiled

BY SIR GEORGE STAUNTON, BART.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF THE PLATES:

1 Monkey Bread Fruit Tree of St. Jago
2 Leaf of the Prickly Pear
3 Largeſt of the Iſlands of Triſtan d'Acunha
4 Chineſe Barge
5 Non-deſcript Inſects and Plant
6 Feet of a Chineſe Lady
7 Chineſe Mariner's Compaſs
8 Chineſe Neptune
9 Method of carrying Sedan Chairs
10 Chineſe Female Divinity
11 Method of carrying heavy Packages
12 The Emperor's Throne
13 Sketch of a Maſs of indurated Earth and Gravel
14 Sceptre and Purſe
15 A Carved Agate
16 Jupiter of the Chineſe
17 Bronze Statue of a Lion
18 Chineſe Monument
19 Bronze Veſſel for Incenſe
20 Manner of raiſing Water
21 Chineſe Plough
22 Fiſherman's Boat
23 Manner of cruſhing Rice
24 Chineſe Bridge
25 Chineſe Chain Pump
26 Method of raiſing a Net
27 Cave of Camoens
28 Flower of Tea
29 Map of China, with the Track of the Ships
30 Map of the Journey by Land from Zhe-hol, in Tartary, to Canton
31 Great Wall of China
32 Frontiſpiece, by Stothard
33 Vignette, by Burney.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

The above Work is publiſhing in Ten Weekly Numbers, at One Shilling each, for the Convenience of ſuch as may approve of this Mode of Purchaſe.—It may confidently be aſſerted that this is the moſt intereſting, cheap, and entertaining Work that has been publiſhed during the preſent Century, and a very extenſive Sale alone will be able to reimburſe its Expences.—The Reader needs only to inſpect it to be ſatisfied of the Truth of this.

HISTORY of LONDON and its ENVIRONS.

THIS DAY ARE PUBLISHED,

PARTS I. II. AND III.

Price to Subſcribers 10s. 6d. each, or to Non-Subſcribers 13s. 6d.

Neatly printed on Superfine Wove Royal Paper, and Hot-preſſed;

CONTAINING

A large Four-Sheet Map of the Country from Twenty to Thirty Miles round London; Plan of the Canals; a large Map of the Thames; and Two Whole Sheet Maps of Eſſex and Kent; Views of Blackfriars-bridge with St. Paul's; the Conduit at Bayſwater; Fairlop Oak in Hainault Foreſt; the Monument; Tower of London; Somerſet Houſe; Queen's Walk in the Green Park; Weſtminſter-bridge with the Abbey; and a View of London from Dr. Lettſom's, Camberwell; an ancient Plan of London; a Survey of the ſame after the Great Fire in 1666; and a large Four-Sheet Plan of London in its preſent State, four feet eight inches, by three feet three inches, including the ſurrounding Villages of Hampſtead, Highgate, Hackney, Clapton, Homerton, Stratford, Greenwich, Deptford, Peckham, Camberwell, Batterſea, Chelſea, and Kenſington; being Twenty-nine Miles in Circumference.

THE

HISTORY

OF

LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS,

COMPREHENDING

WINDSOR, ST. ALBANS, BERKHAMSTEAD, GUILDFORD, MAIDSTONE, CHELMSFORD, AND HERTFORD.

LONDON: Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

1797.

The Work will be completed in Eight Parts, making two large Volumes in Royal Quarto.

A few Copies on large Wove Elephant Paper, with Proof Impreſſions of the Plates, at One Guinea each Part.

The Subſcription ſtill continues open, and a LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS printed.

PART IV. containing a particular Account of Middleſex, Surrey, Kent, and PART V. of the HISTORY of LONDON, are in gr Forwardneſs.

BOOKS

Printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly.

The following Articles are priced as in Boards, unleſs otherwiſe expreſſed.

	£.	s.	d.
AIKIN's Hiſtory of Mancheſter and its Environs, 4to. 650 pages and 73 plates -	3	3	0
Abercrombie's Hot-Houſe Gardener, royal 8vo.	0	6	0
——— Hot-Houſe ditto, plates coloured	0	8	6
——— Kitchen Gardener, 12mo.	0	4	0
——— Gardener's Calender, 12mo.	0	4	0
——— Vade Mecum, 18mo.	0	3	6
Adam's Hiſtory of Republics, 3 vols. 8vo. -	1	1	0
Æſop's Fables, with 112 plates from Barlow's Deſigns, 2 vols. elephant 8vo. - -	2	12	6
Antient and Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, 60 vols.	15	0	0
Andrews's Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern, 8vo.	0	7	6
——— Plans of Cities, 42 plates, with deſcriptions, 4to, half bound - - -	1	1	0
Arnold's Church Muſic, folio, half bound -	1	6	0
Ayſcough's Index to Shakeſpeare, 8vo. -	1	1	0
Berquin's Children's Friend, 6 vols. with 46 copper-plates, bound - -	1	1	0
——— 4 vol. 12mo. plates	0	10	0
——— Seleſt Stories, 12mo. - -	0	2	6
——— Honeſt Farmer, with frontiſpiece, -	0	1	0
——— Hiſtory of Little Grandiſon - -	0	1	6
Biographical Sketches of 39 eminent Perſons, with a Deſcription of Knole, plates -	0	6	0
Bonnet's Philoſophical Inquiries, 8vo. -	0	6	0
Boothby's (Sir Brooke) Obſervations on Burke and Paine - - -	0	5	0
Boſcawen's Horace, 2 vol. 8vo. -	0	16	0
Brown's Hiſtory of the Campaigns in the Years 1793, 1794, and 1795, 8vo. with a large Map	0	5	6
Chalmers's Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, 2 vols. 8vo. -	0	15	0
——— Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, 8vo. - -	0	7	6
——— Life of Ruddiman, 8vo. - -	0	6	0
Davis's Hiſtorical Tracts relating to Ireland, with his Life, 8vo. by George Chalmers, F. R. S. S. A. - -	0	5	0
Day's Dying Negro, new edition, with a frontiſpiece by Metz and Neagle - -	0	3	0

	£.	s.	d.
Day's Hiſtory of Sandford and Merton, 3 vols.	0	10	6
—— ditto in 1 vol. frontiſpiece by Stothard -	0	4	0
—— Children's Miſcellany, with 23 cuts by Bewick - - -	0	3	6
—— Hiſtory of Little Jack, with 23 cuts -	0	1	0
De Foe's Hiſtory of the Union, 4to. -	1	10	0
Edwards's Hiſtory of St. Domingo, 4to. -	0	13	0
——— Hiſtory of the Weſt Indies, 2 vols. 4to. with 16 maps and hiſtorical plates -	2	12	6
The 15 maps and hiſtorical plates, ſeparate, 4to. to complete the firſt edition of the above -	0	10	6
Edwards's large two-ſheet Map of the Weſt Indies - - -	0	5	0
Filſon's Hiſtory of Kentucky, with a large map, 19 inches by 17 - -	0	2	0
Fleurieu's Voyages and Diſcoveries of the French and Spaniards, with 11 plates, 4to. -	1	1	0
Gay's Fables (Stockdale's edition), 2 vols. elephant 8vo. with 70 plates - -	1	11	6
Gordon's (Sir Adam) Contraſt, 2 vols. 12mo. -	0	6	0
——— Selection of Pſalms - -	0	1	6
——— Homilies of the Church of England, 2 vols. 8vo. - -	0	14	0
——— Sermons, 8vo. - -	0	8	0
——— Affectionate Advice - -	0	1	0
——— Aſſiſtant for the Viſitation of the Sick, 12mo. bound - -	0	3	6
——— New Year's Gift - -	0	1	6
Giſborne's Vales of Wever, a Poem, 4to. -	0	5	0
Hawkins's Hiſtory of the Ottoman Empire, 4 vols. - - -	1	6	0
Hill's Travels through Sicily and Calabria in 1791, royal 8vo. - -	0	7	6
Hiſtory of London and its Environs, parts 1, 2, 3, royal 4to. plates, to ſubſcribers each -	0	10	6
Hiſtory of New Holland, 8vo. with maps -	0	6	0
——— a Schoolboy, with cuts - -	0	1	0
Holt's Characters of Kings, with frontiſpiece by Metz, bound - -	0	3	6
Hunter's Voyages in the South Seas, with 17 plates, 4to. - -	1	11	6
——— Hiſtorical Journal abridged, 8vo. -	0	7	6
Indian Vocabulary - - -	0	3	6
Johnſon's Works, vols. 12 and 13, containing his Debates in Parliament - -	0	12	0
La Trobe's Anecdotes of the King of Pruſſia, 8vo.	0	6	0

	£.	s.	d.
La Trobe's Hiſtory of Struenzee and Brandt -	0	4	0
—— Hiſtory of the Moravian Miſſions in America - - -	0	8	6
Law on the riſing Reſources of India, royal 8vo.	0	6	0
Life of Dante and Petrarch - -	0	2	6
Lloyd on the Defence of England, with a map	0	2	6
London Calendar for 1798, bound 2s. 6d.; with an Almanack 4s.; with Almanack and Companion 5s. 6d., or with Arms, Almanack, and Companion complete, 8s.			
Marſhall's Edmund and Eleonora, a Novel, 2 vols. 8vo. - - -	0	10	6
Morſe's Hiſtory of America, 4to. with 25 maps	1	6	0
—— American Geography, 8vo. with maps	0	6	6
—— Elements of Geography, plates, bound	0	3	6
New Robinſon Cruſoe, 2 vols. 12mo. 32 cuts	0	6	0
—— in 1 vol. 12mo. 32 cuts	0	3	6
—— abridged, in 1 vol. 12mo. 32 cuts, bound - -	0	2	6
Noble's 136 Lives of the Regicides, 2 vols. 8vo.	0	12	0
*Perry's New General Engliſh Pocket Dictionary	0	3	6
—— New Standard French and Engliſh Pronouncing Dictionary, bound -	0	5	0
Phillip's Voyage to Botany Bay, with 55 plates, 4to.	1	11	6
—— third edition, 8vo. with 20 plates -	0	10	6
Playfair's Commercial and Political Atlas, with 44 plates - - -	1	1	0
—— Hiſtory of the French Revolution -	0	10	6
Pye's Commentary on Ariſtotle, royal 4to. -	1	6	0
—— Poems on various Subjects, 2 vols. 8vo.	0	12	0
—— Poetic of Ariſtotle - -	0	4	0
—— Spectre, a Novel, 2 vols. -	0	6	0
—— Amuſement - - -	0	2	6
—— Obſervations on Hunting, with frontiſpiece and vignette by Stothard and Heath	0	6	0
Robinſon Cruſoe, 2 vols. demy 8vo. 17 plates (Stockdale's edit.) - - -	0	18	0
Rouſe on the Landed Property of Bengal, 8vo.	0	6	0
Sabatier's Treatiſe on Poverty, its Conſequences, and the Remedy, 8vo. - -	0	5	0
Scott's Hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies, 2 vols. 4to.	2	2	0
Scally's Geographical Dictionary, 2 vols. 4to. -	1	1	0
Shakſpeare's Plays in one vol. 8vo. -	1	1	0

* *This Dictionary, for beauty of paper, elegance of printing, correctneſs and cheapneſs, ſtands unrivalled and unmatched.*

	£.	s.	d.
Shakeſpeare's Plays with Ayſcough's Index, 2 vol.	2	2	0
Short Review of the Britiſh Government in India	0	3	6
Simkin's Humorous and Satirical Letters, complete, 8vo. - -	0	7	0
Sketch of Univerſal Hiſtory, with 36 heads of kings	0	1	6
Staunton's Account of the Embaſſy to China abridged, 25 plates, 8vo. - -	0	10	6
Staunton's Embaſſy, with map of China, and frontiſpiece by Stothard, 12mo. -	0	3	6
Supplement to complete Nicol's edition in 3 vols. 8vo. of the above, conſiſting of 25 plates with Directions and References, 5s.; or with the 3 vols. - - -	1	6	6
Stockdale's, Miſs, Effuſions of the Heart, Poems, with a frontiſpiece by Stothard, crown 8vo. -	0	5	0
Stockdale's new large four-ſheet Plan of London	0	7	6
——— Map of the Country from 20 to 30 Miles round London, neatly coloured - - -	0	7	6
——— Map of the Thames, coloured -	0	2	6
——— large two-ſheet Map of the Country from 30 to 40 Miles round Mancheſter, neatly coloured - - -	0	10	6
——— Plan of Mancheſter from actual Survey, by C. Laurent -	1	1	0
Survey of the Counties of Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, Derbyſhire, Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, and the Northern Part of Staffordſhire, with Maps, &c. - -	0	4	6
Thomſon's Seaſons, with 14 plates by Stothard, elegantly printed on a ſuperfine wove paper (Stockdale's edition) - -	0	9	0
Wallace's New Book of Intereſt, half bound	0	10	6
Whitaker's Courſe of Hannibal, 2 vols. 8vo.	0	12	0
——— Origin of Arianiſm, royal 8vo.	0	10	6
Zelia in the Deſert, or Female Robinſon Cruſoe	0	2	6